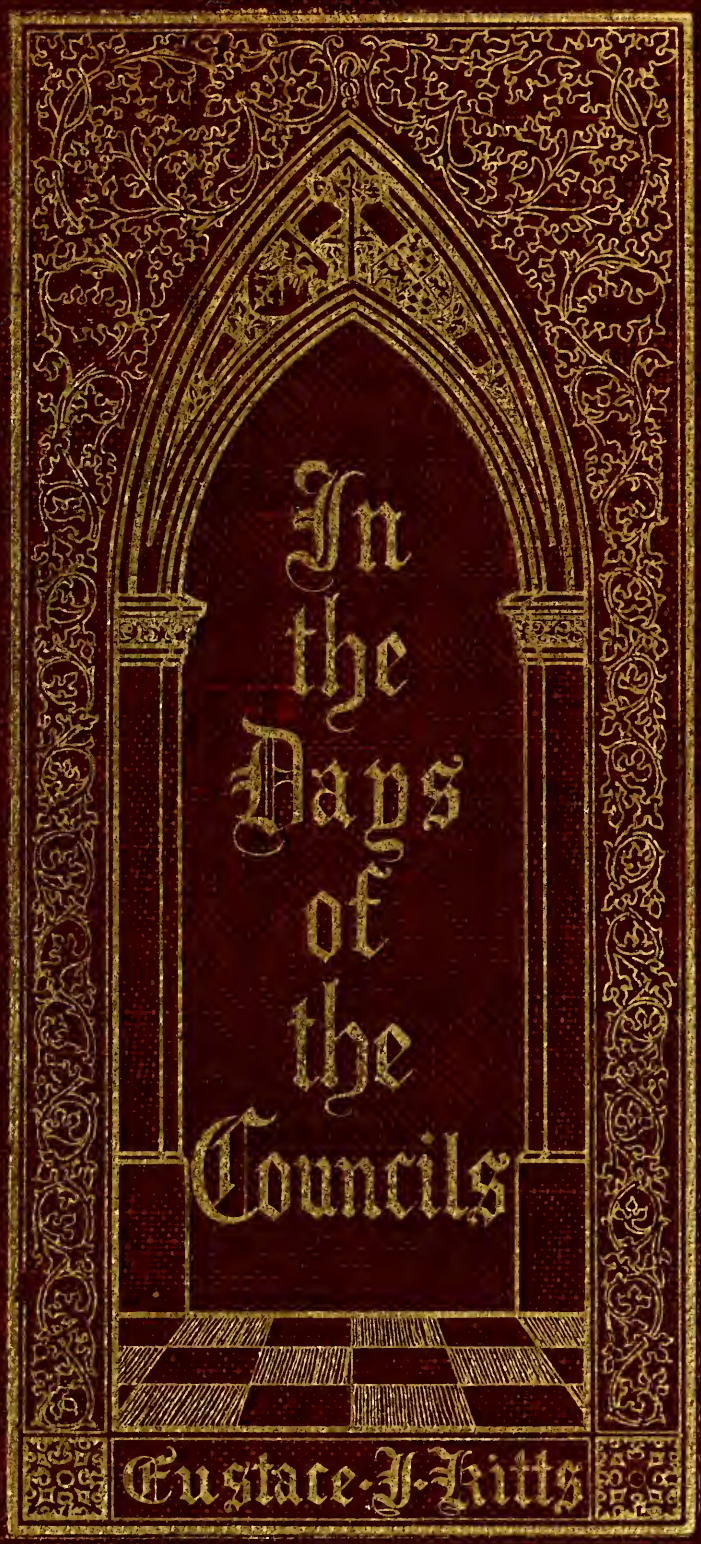

In the Days of the Councils
Eustace J. Kitts

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# IN THE DAYS OF THE COUNCILS

## A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BALDASSARE COSSA

(AFTERWARD POPE JOHN THE TWENTY-THIRD)

BY

EUSTACE J. KITTS

SOMETIME OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

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# INTRODUCTION

This work is an attempt to tell the story of the first part of the life and times of one of the most picturesque and remarkable men of the Middle Ages, Baldassare Cossa, who on the 17th May 1410 became Pope John the Twenty-third. In order accurately to appreciate the career and character of this churchman, it is necessary to have in the first place a clear perception of the state of the Church at the end of the fourteenth century, and in the second to realise its position with regard to the Empire. For the continued existence of the Holy Roman Empire and its connection with the Holy Roman Church are the two cardinal points of mediæval history in Europe. In the days of Constantine the Great, and for some centuries after, the Empire and the Church were practically conterminous; they represented the same body of people under different aspects; they were the civil and religious sides of Christendom. Later on they were typified as the Sun and the Moon in the heavens, as the Two Swords delivered to Saint Peter; but the theory of their interdependence was not fully worked out until their connection was no longer unchallenged as formerly. The connection of the Empire and the Church gave rise to those two wonderful fictions known as the Donation of Constantine and the Translation of the Empire. When Constantine the Great moved the seat of Empire to Byzantium (327), it was said that he gave Italy, some even maintained that he made over all the nations of Western Europe, to Pope Sylvester and his successors; this was the so-called Donation of Constantine. Again, when nearly five hundred years later the Empire became vacant on the death of Constantine the Sixth, who was succeeded by the woman Irene, the Empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Franks, when Charles the Great was crowned

Imperator Augustus at Rome on Christmas Day 800; this was the Translation of the Empire. As the claims of the Papacy widened, the former fiction was found to be rather inconvenient; but nevertheless a belief in the Donation and in the Translation remained part of the faith of most orthodox churchmen in the days of Baldassare Cossa. But the course of history had gradually made the theory of the interdependence of the Church and Empire no longer tenable in its entirety; instead of mutual co-operation there had been deadly feud; and the former relative position of the two powers had become seriously altered. It is necessary therefore to commence by giving a brief sketch of the status of the Holy Roman Empire at the outbreak of the Great Schism. It will then be advisable to describe the state of the Church at this time, having regard to the efforts at internal reform; for the life of Baldassare Cossa was spent in the midst of these endeavours. They were unsuccessful; and their want of success paved the way for, and rendered necessary, the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. The origin of the Great Schism will then be briefly noticed, and a slight description given of the civil condition of the more important nations of Europe at that time, as introductory to the years when Baldassare Cossa first appeared in the arena of political life; after which the events of his life and times will be treated more in detail. The story will be one of Church History; but it will be necessary to gather up the threads of the history of other countries so far as they are connected therewith, the history of the different states of Italy, and of the kingdoms of Germany, Hungary, and France; in other words, as Carlyle says, 'We shall be obliged (what is our grand difficulty in this History) to note, in their order, the series of European occurrences' in so far as they are connected with the story of the life of Baldassare Cossa. In the main the chronological sequence of events has been observed; but this has been impossible in every instance; and for a similar reason it has been impossible to avoid referring to some few events twice over. I have finished the story, for the present, at the death of Pope Alexander the Fifth; and although with the advent of a new ruler of the Holy

Roman Empire a great change comes over the spirit of the action, still I am painfully aware that I have merely reached a 'conclusion in which nothing is concluded.' It is my hope in the future, if life and health are spared, to complete the story of the Life and Times of Pope John the Twenty-third; but the material is abundant, and opportunity intermittent. As regards what I have done, I may use the words of one who wrote four hundred years ago: 'How be it, I truste my symple reason hath ledde to the understandynge of the true sentence of the mater . . . desyrynge all the reders and herers therof to take this my rude "work" in gre, and yf any faute be, to laye it to myn unconnynge and derke ignoraunce, and to mynysshe, adde or augment as they shall fynde cause requysyte. And in theyr so doynge I shall pray to God that after this vayne and transytory lyfe he may brynge them unto the perdurable joye of heven. Amen.'

EUSTACE J. KITTS.

Eversleigh, Heene,
Worthing.

# LISTS OF RULERS

## THE POPES

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nicolas I. | 858-867 | Alexander IV. | 1254-1261 |
| Gregory VII. | 1073-1085 | Urban IV. | 1261-1265 |
| Victor III. | 1086-1087 | Clement IX. | 1265-1269 |
| Urban II. | 1088-1099 | Gregory IX. | 1271-1276 |
| Paschal II. | 1099-1118 | Innocent V. | 1276-1276 |
| Gelasius II. | 1118-1119 | Hadrian V. | 1276-1276 |
| Calixtus II. | 1119-1124 | John XIX. | 1276-1276 |
| Honorius II. | 1124-1130 | Nicolas III. | 1277-1281 |
| Innocent II. | 1130-1143 | Martin IV. | 1281-1285 |
| Celestine II. | 1143-1144 | Honorius IV. | 1285-1289 |
| Lucius II. | 1144-1145 | Nicolas IV. | 1289-1292 |
| Eugenius III. | 1145-1153 | Celestine V. | 1294-1294 |
| Hadrian IV. | 1153-1159 | Boniface VIII. | 1294-1303 |
| Alexander III. | 1159-1181 | Benedict X. | 1303-1305 |
| Lucius III. | 1181-1185 | | |
| Urban III. | 1185-1187 | *The Popes at Avignon.* | |
| Gregory VIII. | 1187-1187 | | |
| Clement III. | 1187-1191 | Clement V. | 1305-1314 |
| Celestine III. | 1191-1198 | John XXII. | 1316-1334 |
| Innocent III. | 1198-1216 | Benedict XII. | 1334-1342 |
| Honorius III. | 1216-1227 | Clement VI. | 1342-1352 |
| Gregory IX. | 1227-1241 | Innocent VI. | 1352-1362 |
| Celestine IV. | 1241-1241 | Urban V. | 1362-1370 |
| Innocent IV. | 1243-1254 | Gregory XI. | 1370-1378 |

*N.B.*—Anti-popes omitted in the above list.

## THE POPES DURING THE SCHISM

*The Popes at Rome.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Urban VI. | April 18, 1378-Oct. 15, 1389 |
| Boniface IX. | Nov. 11, 1389-Oct. 1, 1404 |
| Innocent VII. | Oct. 17, 1404-Nov. 5, 1406 |
| Gregory XII. | Nov. 30, 1406-June 15, 1415 |

*The Popes at Avignon.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Clement VII. | Sept. 20, 1378-Sept. 16, 1394 |
| Benedict XIII. | Sept. 28, 1394-July 26, 1417 |

*The Popes of the Council.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Alexander V. | June 26, 1409-May 4, 1410 |
| John XXIII. | May 17, 1410-May 29, 1415 |

### Kings of Germany.

| | |
|---|---|
| Otto I. | 936-973 |
| Otto II. | 973-983 |
| Otto III. | 983-1002 |
| Henry II. | 1002-1024 |
| Conrad II. | 1024-1039 |
| Henry III. | 1039-1056 |
| Henry IV. | 1056-1106 |
| Henry V. | 1106-1125 |
| Lothair II. | 1125-1138 |
| Conrad III. | 1138-1152 |
| Frederic I. | 1152-1190 |
| Henry VI. | 1190-1196 |
| Otto IV. | 1196-1215 |
| Frederic II. | 1215-1250 |
| Rudolf (Habsburg) | 1275-1292 |
| Adolf (Nassau) | 1292-1298 |
| Albert I. | 1298-1308 |
| Henry VII. | 1308-1313 |
| Louis (Bavaria) | 1313-1347 |
| Charles IV. | 1346-1378 |

### Kings of Naples.

| | |
|---|---|
| Charles I. (of Anjou) | 1265-1285 |
| Charles II. (the Lame). | 1285-1309 |
| Robert | 1309-1343 |
| Joanna I. | 1343-1382 |
| Charles III. (Durazzo) | 1382-1386 |
| Ladislas | 1386-1414 |

### Kings of Castile.

| | |
|---|---|
| Peter (the Cruel) | 1350-1369 |
| Henry II. | 1369-1379 |
| John I. | 1379-1391 |
| Henry III. | 1391-1407 |
| John II. | 1407-1454 |

### Kings of France.

| | |
|---|---|
| Hugh Capet | 987-996 |
| Robert | 996-1031 |
| Henry I. | 1031-1060 |
| Philip I. | 1060-1108 |
| Louis VI. | 1108-1137 |
| Louis VII. | 1137-1180 |
| Philip Augustus | 1180-1225 |
| Louis VIII. | 1225-1226 |
| Louis IX. (Saint) | 1226-1270 |
| Philip III. | 1270-1285 |
| Philip IV. (the Fair) | 1285-1314 |
| Louis X. | 1314-1316 |
| John I. | 1316-1316 |
| Philip V. | 1316-1322 |
| Charles IV. | 1322-1328 |
| Philip VI. | 1328-1350 |
| John II. | 1350-1364 |
| Charles V. | 1364-1380 |
| Charles VI. | 1380-1422 |

### Kings of Hungary.

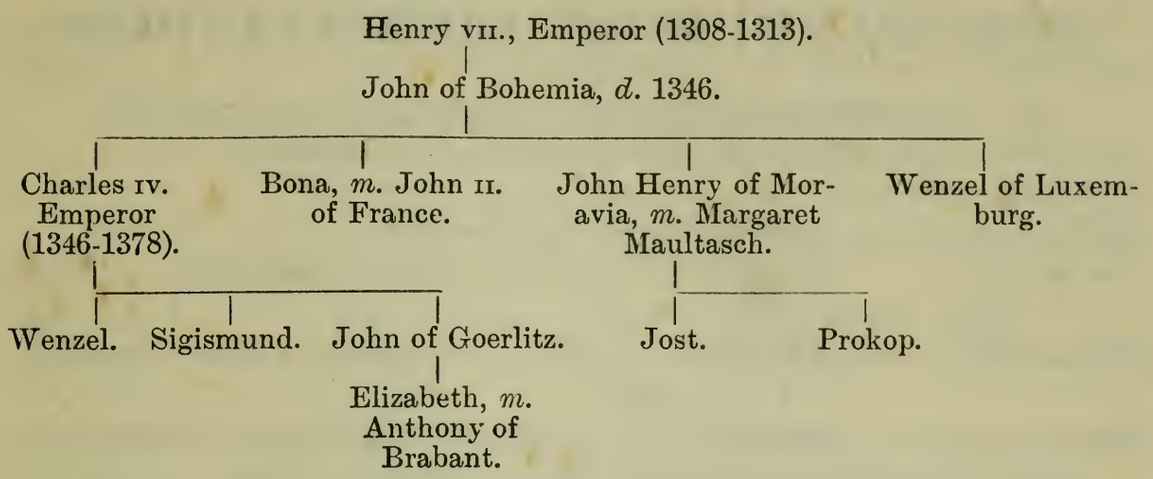
| | |
|---|---|
| Carobert | 1310-1342 |
| Louis the Great | 1342-1382 |
| Maria | 1382-1385 |
| Charles (Durazzo) | 1385-1386 |
| Sigismund | 1387-1437 |

### Kings of Aragon.

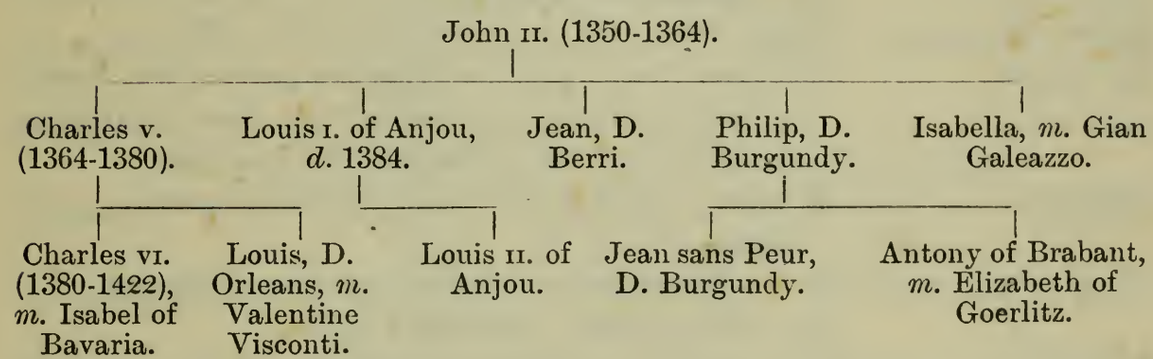
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|---|---|
| Peter IV. | 1336-1387 |
| John I. | 1387-1395 |
| Martin | 1395-1412 |

# GENEALOGICAL TREES

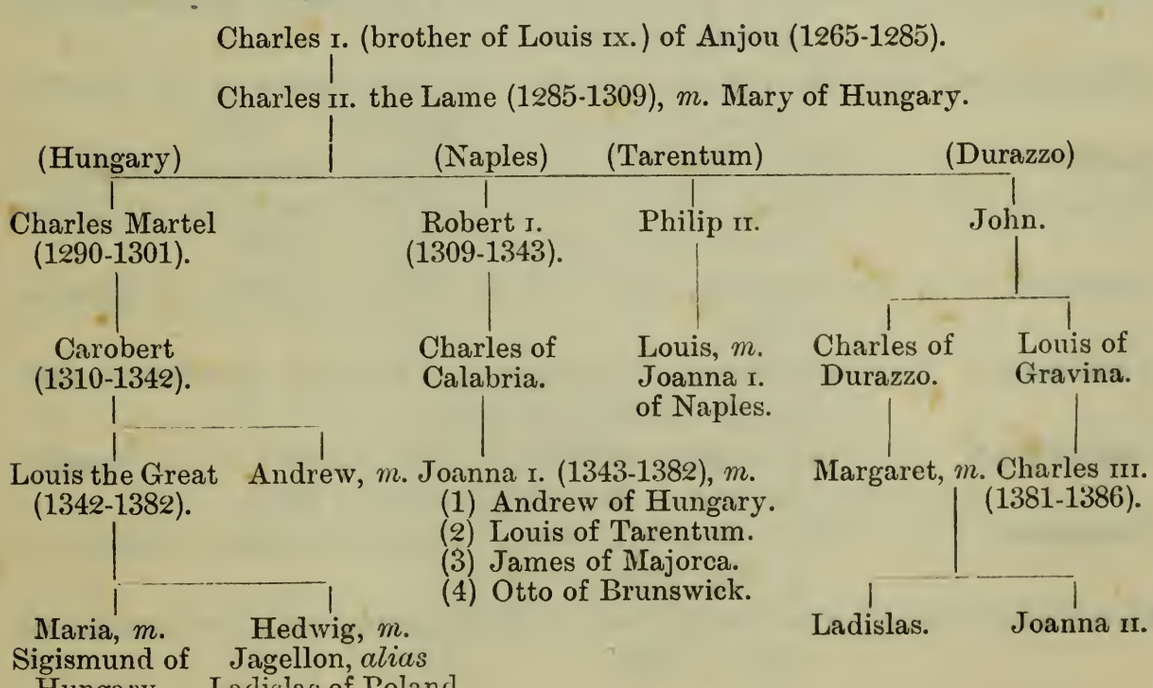
## THE HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG




## THE VALOIS LINE




## KINGS OF NAPLES AND OF HUNGARY



# MEMORANDUM OF ABBREVIATIONS

*N.B.*—The following abbreviations have been used for the authorities more frequently cited in the notes and references.

| | |
|---|---|
| *A.S.I.* | *Archivio Storico Italiano,* 1843. |
| Ammirato. | Ammirato, Scipione: *Istorie Fiorentine.* 7 vols., 1853. |
| Aschbach. | Aschbach, Joseph: *Geschichte Kaiser Sigmunds.* 4 vols., 1838. |
| Barante. | Barante, M. de: *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois.* 14 vols., 1826. |
| Bess. | Bess, Bernhard: *Frankreichs Kirchenpolitik,* 1891. |
| *Biog. Univ.* | *Biographie Universelle, ancienne et moderne* (Michaud). |
| Bonet-Maury. | Bonet-Maury, G.: *Gérard de Groote,* 1878. |
| Boucicaut. | *Collection Universelle des Mémoires particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France*: tome VI.—*Livre des faits du bon Messire Jean le Meingre, dit Boucicaut.* |
| Brieger. | Brieger: *Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte,* containing—<br>ix., x. Sauerland: *Cardinal Johannes Dominici.*<br>xxi. Blumenthal: *Johann XXIII.*<br>xxv. Bess: *Frankreich und sein Papst von* 1378 *bis* 1394.<br>xxviii. Sommerfeldt: *Eine Invektive aus der Zeit des Pisaner Konzils.* |
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# IN THE DAYS OF THE COUNCILS

## CHAPTER I

### THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

By our forefathers the whole world was divided into Christendom and Heathenesse, and when Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire, Christendom practically meant the whole of that Empire as distinct from the rest of the world. The Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire were thus two different phrases, signifying the same body of people, viewed from their spiritual or their temporal side. In 327 Constantine the Great moved the seat of Empire to Byzantium, which we call Constantinople, but which was then called Rome, which is still called Rome to this day by Musalmans all the world over. The Rome on the Bosporus instead of the Rome on the Tiber, the eastern Rome instead of the western Rome, became the seat of Empire, and it remained the sole seat until the death of Theodosius. Then the Empire was divided; Arcadius received the Eastern and Honorius the Western provinces. In 476 the last Emperor of the Western provinces, Romulus Augustulus, was deposed; the Senate sent the regalia to the Emperor Zeno at Rome on the Bosporus, and informed him that they no longer required a separate royalty, that Zeno himself would suffice as sole Emperor for both ends of the earth. Thus the Western provinces were reunited with the Eastern, and there was again a single undivided Roman Empire. This continued until the end of the eighth century, when a wonderful change occurred. The Emperor Constantine the Sixth was in 797 blinded and deposed by his mother Irene, who aspired to seat herself on the imperial throne. There had before this been

female regents who had ruled while their sons or wards were minors, and even after: Theodora had been crowned Empress when her husband, Justinian, was crowned Emperor; but no woman had ever reigned alone, and in her own right, as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.[1] In 799 Charles the Great,[2] Charlemagne, the Teuton King of the Franks, was called upon to aid Pope Leo the Third, who had been brutally assaulted in a procession, and had been left for dead after his enemies had, as they thought, deprived him of sight and speech. Charles had already delivered Italy from the Lombards; he now came to Rome for the fourth time, the charges against the Pope were heard and his innocence pronounced in full synod, and on Christmas Day Charles, robed in the chlamys and sandals of a Roman patrician, heard Mass in the Church of Saint Peter. 'After the celebration of the holy mysteries, Leo suddenly placed a precious crown on his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans."'[3] 'In that shout,' says Mr. Bryce, 'echoed by the Franks without, was pronounced the union, so long in preparation, so mighty in its consequences, of the Roman and the Teuton, of the memories and the civilisation of the South with the fresh energy of the North, and from that moment modern history begins.'[4]

The throne at Constantinople was vacant through the death of the Emperor without male successor; Charles was therefore regarded as sole Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. His dominion was so wide, his conquests so extensive, that in his day it was almost as it had been in the earlier days of the Empire—to be a Roman was to be a Christian, and to be a Christian was to be a Roman. The successors of Constantine at the Rome on the Bosporus were looked upon as nothing more than mere kings of Greece;

[1] 'Irene was the second Athenian lady who married a Roman Emperor and became an Augusta; the first was the famous Athenais (Eudocia).'—Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, ii. 480.

[2] Charles had at one time thought of himself marrying Irene, and at another he had betrothed his daughter to her son. *Ibid.* ii. 483, 490.

[3] Gibbon, vi. 169.

[4] Bryce, 49.

and if the continued existence of the Eastern Empire be granted, it virtually came to an end with the Fourth Crusade, for the Palæologi were feeble representatives even of the Comneni, and their Byzantine Empire was a mere shadow of the old Empire of the East. The Holy Roman Empire, as a mighty all-embracing monarchy in which the rule of one man was felt and acknowledged to the ends of the civilised world, was the Empire of Charles and his successors who were crowned at Rome. The terms of the union between Pope Leo and the Emperor Charles were not set forth in words, but they were well known; they were that the Pope should rule the souls, and the Emperor the bodies, of their common subjects in righteousness, the rulers acting together in harmony, to the end that all men might inherit eternal life. It was a noble theory, but impossible of realisation in practice. It required a complete accord of the papal and imperial powers; and this accord was attained under Charles and Pope Leo the Third, under Otto the Third and Popes Gregory the Fifth and Sylvester the Second, under Henry the Third, but certainly never thenceforth.[1]

The Emperors came to Rome merely to be crowned with the golden crown; the Popes resided in Rome; theirs was the enduring power in Italy. At first simply the Bishop of Rome, then the sole Patriarch of the West, the Pope had gradually attained to be acknowledged as the spiritual head of Christendom. The Emperor being the temporal head, it was natural that the relation of the two powers should come to be defined. About the middle of the eighth century[2] there appeared the document known as the Donation of Constantine, which was probably composed by one of the priests attached to the Church of the Lateran. This set forth that Constantine, on being baptized by Pope Sylvester, had in his gratitude conferred on the Pope and his successors Rome, Italy, and the Western provinces—that is Lombardy, Venice, and Istria—'in order that the lamps of the Roman churches might be supplied with oil.' After the death of Charles the Great his dominions were divided among his heirs, and their discord and wars speedily enfeebled the

[1] Bryce, 107. [2] Janus, 148.

might of the Empire. The strength of the Church was meantime growing owing to the fact that the bishops had hitherto been the main supports of civil and orderly government. A clerical tribunal, 'an irregular convention of certain Bishops of the Gauls, assembled without proper sanction,'[1] deposed Louis the Pious in 833; bishops and clergy, convened in Council at Aix-la-Chapelle, pronounced that the throne of Lothair was vacant in 842.[2] From 858 to 867 there reigned at Rome Pope Nicholas the First, the greatest of the Popes since Gregory the Great. He took up the work, afterwards consummated by Hildebrand, of welding the Church into one vast monarchy subject to the Pope and independent of the civil powers. He insisted on the right of appeal to Rome against the decrees of metropolitans; he put forward this claim, not only in the interest of the clergy, but in order that those of every condition might have recourse to the Roman Church as to their universal Mother, seeking from her the safety of their bodies and their souls.[3] He upheld the primacy of the Papacy against the Emperor and the Patriarch at Constantinople. He interfered on the ground of morality in the divorce of Lothair. He insisted, in the matter of the Bishop Rothade, that the rights of the Church could not be invalidated by the decrees of Emperors. He corresponded with the three sons of Louis the Pious in their separate kingdoms, with Salomon of Brittany, with the King of the Bulgarians, with the King of Denmark, with the Emperor at Constantinople. He led the way to Pope Gregory the Seventh. Shortly before his pontificate there burst forth on Christendom that wonderful forgery known as the Decretals of Isidore. It was an age of forgery,[4] but Nicholas himself made no use of the false Decretals; they were introduced at Rome in the pontificate of John the Eighth (872-882),[5] and thenceforward they formed the armoury from which the Popes drew their arms to enforce the theory of the papal sovereignty. This knavery, says Dollinger,[6] brought about

[1] Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England*, i. 295.
[2] *Ibid.* i. 336.
[3] Rocquain, 70.
[4] *Ibid.* 17 *et seq.*
[5] *Ibid.* 48.
[6] Janus, 107.

slowly and gradually the complete transformation of the constitution and government of the Church.

The Carolingian line of Emperors ended with Charles the Fat, who died in 888. Then followed certain phantom Emperors in Italy, the last of whom was Berengar, who died in 924. Meantime war and confusion reigned everywhere. The Papacy was disgraced by the Reign of the Harlots; it had lost all authority within Italy; it had lost all respect without; it looked as if the Church Universal were about to split up into a number of merely national churches. The Empire was in suspense; everything demanded its revival. 'In a time of disintegration, confusion, strife, all the longings of every wiser and better soul for unity, for peace and law, for some bond to bring Christian men and Christian states together against the common enemy of the faith, were but so many cries for the restoration of the Roman Empire.'[1] In Germany, Henry the Fowler had been succeeded by his son Otto the Great; and the golden crown was now offered by the Pope to Otto if he would revisit and pacify Italy. He descended from the Alps with an immense army, marched to Pavia, where he was acknowledged King of Italy, and on the 2nd February 962 was crowned Emperor in the Church of Saint John Lateran by Pope John the Twelfth. His Empire was not so vast as that of Charles the Great; it included Germany and two-thirds of Italy, Lorraine and Burgundy, Bohemia and Moravia, Poland and Denmark, perhaps Hungary: there were important differences in its inner structure and character; that kingdom of France, which had its centre at Paris, no longer acknowledged its sway, nor did England. Otto must therefore be considered, not as the successor of Charlemagne, but as the second founder of the Empire, of that Empire which denotes the sovereignty of Germany and Italy vested in a Germanic prince. During the century which succeeded the coronation of Otto the Great the Empire attained the zenith of its power, and held itself highest with regard to Rome.

It was the Age of Feudalism. Before the second half of the thirteenth century there was no political thought; but

[1] *Hist. Gen.* i. 538; Bryce, 84.

Rome had taught men to believe in a World-Empire, and Christianity had taught men to believe in a World-Religion; and these two being allied and conterminous, their alliance and interdependence was assumed to be necessary and eternal. The clergy and the realist philosophers alike believed in one universal temporal State and one visible catholic Church. The underlying notion of that 'portentous fabrication,' the Donation of Constantine, is that the Pope must in every point represent his prototype the Emperor; the spiritual power was to imitate and rival the temporal, which was its necessary complement; 'hence the part which the Holy See played in transferring the crown to Charles, the first sovereign of the West capable of fulfilling its duties; hence the grief with which its weakness under his successors was seen, the gladness when it descended to Otto as representative of the Frankish kingdom.'[1]

The relation of the papal and the imperial powers is represented at this time under the emblem of the soul and the body. Just as God ruled over blessed spirits, so did the Pope rule over the souls of men; just as God was Lord of Earth as well as of Heaven, so was he represented in temporal matters by the Emperor; '*le Pape et l'Empereur, les deux moitiés de Dieu.*' It was this belief in the necessary existence of a conterminous world-empire and world-religion which made the earlier crusades so popular and universal; it was its decadence which rendered the later crusades so petty and abortive.[2]

When Otto the Great was crowned he promised to protect the Church against all her enemies, and the Pope and the people of Rome in their turn took an oath of allegiance to him and covenanted not to elect any future pontiff without his sanction. The Saxon and Franconian Emperors thenceforward either nominated the Popes or approved their election; they exercised the right of deposition and of trial of the Head of the Church. They did more; they set to work to cleanse the Augean stable: Pope John the Twelfth, 'the apostate,' was deposed; Pope Benedict the Ninth, who led a life foul, shameful, and execrable, was degraded; German Popes were appointed. The Papacy was reformed. But the

[1] Bryce, 101. [2] Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, 212, 8.

reformed Papacy proved mightier than the Empire; a change in their relative positions ensued. If the might of the Empire was at its zenith during the reigns of the Saxon and Franconian Emperors, the moral glory and influence of the Papacy were at their height during the reigns of the greatest and grandest, the most high-minded and politic Popes, from the days of Hildebrand to the pontificate of Innocent the Third.

Hildebrand himself has been well described as the man in whom were summed up all the grandeur and audacity of the Papacy. From his early days he was imbued with the notion that on the Pope, as the successor of Saint Peter and the representative of the Deity in this world, was conferred the mission of directing humanity; Christ had commanded Peter to feed His sheep, and Gregory took the command to himself. The clergy were sunk in moral degradation; they were stained with simony and concubinage; the Church was in the hands of the German Emperors. Gregory's life-work was to elevate the clergy, to make them fit to be the guides and rulers of mankind, and to free the Church entirely from lay control. The task was so great that for long he shrank from undertaking it himself. He had left Rome with Gregory the Sixth in 1047, he returned two years later with Leo the Ninth; from the pontificate of Victor the Second (1054-1057) onwards, his was the ruling spirit at Rome. It was he who recommended Victor to the Emperor; Victor's successor, Stephen the Tenth, was elected at Rome without the participation of Germany. When Stephen died, Hildebrand assembled the cardinals and the principal Romans and elected Nicholas the Second; the election was notified to the Empress, but one of the first acts of the new pontificate was the Bull which provided that in future the Pope should be elected by the College of Cardinals—a deadly blow to the influence of the Emperors. The next Pope, Alexander the Second, was elected without any reference to Germany. The Emperors henceforth lost all authority in the election of Popes. All this time Hildebrand had stood in the background; he was the man behind the papal throne: his influence was universally acknowledged. When Alexander was

Pope, Peter Damiani indited to Hildebrand the well-known couplet—

> 'Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro ;
> Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit ipse Deum.'

On the death of Alexander, Hildebrand in his own despite was raised to the chair of Saint Peter ; two days later he was prostrate with trouble and anguish at his elevation.

Pope Gregory the Seventh lost no time in rising to the height of his great mission. Filled with a fiery zeal, he waged unceasingly a holy war for papal supremacy. He aimed to subdue the civil world to the clergy, the clergy to the Papacy, to transform the whole of Europe into one vast theocracy. The bishops were to be his faithful henchmen ; he would have no bishop whom he did not know and trust ; he did not abrogate the old custom that a bishop should be chosen from the diocese by the clergy and people, but where a fitting man could not be so found, he was ready to recommend an outsider. Almost his first public act, in a synod at Rome, was a declaration of war against simony and the marriage of the clergy. In some countries, certainly in England, in Germany, and in Italy, the majority of the clergy were then married, and the clergy were as a consequence fast degenerating into a closed caste. It was a choice of evils : on the one side was the temptation to illicit connections ; on the other, the hereditary succession and the degeneracy of the order.[1] Gregory's action stirred up strife in the Church and widespread discontent ; but he was firm ; he stood on the old ways, the weight of authority was on his side. Not that this would have mattered, when once he was satisfied as to his own righteousness ; if he unto himself was true, he was ready to use forged decretal or papal letter to explain and impress his meaning on others. He was persuaded that the power of the Pope was ordained of God, that the civil powers took their origin from evil ; that it was his mission, therefore, to see that the kings of the earth ruled in righteousness. He sent his legates into every country of Europe ; he exacted passive obedience from them toward

[1] Milman, iv. 18.

himself, passive obedience from the clergy toward them. Before he had been two years Pope he excommunicated Italian dukes, he sent an embassy demanding unquestioning obedience from the Emperor in Germany, he threatened to excommunicate the King of France.[1] His quarrel with Henry the Fourth led that monarch to the Humiliation of Canossa (1077); it brought about the long, weary strife of the Investitures. At the synod of Rome, held in Lent 1075, the Pope abrogated the right of the investiture of bishops and abbots by the temporal sovereign; their endowments were to be withdrawn from the nation to the Church; the Pope was to become liege lord of one half the world.[2] The dispute was not settled until long after Pope Gregory had closed his weary eyes, an exile from Rome at Salerno; he had fought valiantly for the Church, but was not conscious of victory. 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile,' were the last words of Hildebrand.

Nevertheless the Empire had been abased, the Papacy had been exalted; for three days in the snow had the supreme Lord of the Holy Roman Empire awaited the beck of the carpenter's son. Literary proofs to support the Pope's pretensions were now forthcoming; not merely the False Decretals, but the Dictatus Papæ, the works of Anselm of Lucca and of Cardinal Dieudonné, the *Liber ad Amicum* of Bonizo,[3] followed later by the Polycarpus of Gregory of Pavia, all upheld the doctrine of papal supremacy. The Donation of Constantine had been supplemented by the Donation of Charlemagne. All these falsifications were subsequently (1142) adopted by Gratian and were embodied in his Decretum, or more accurately the *Concordantia discordantium Canonum*, which 'swept all its predecessors out of the field and soon won something of the authority that belonged to a definite codification of previous ecclesiastical jurisprudence.' The Pope's claim to the supreme power over king or emperor, power even to depose him if circumstances required, could not, however, have been set forth in more uncompromising terms than were used by Gregory himself to Bishop Hermann of Metz. But Pope Gregory the Seventh,

[1] Rocquain, 125. [2] Milman, iv. 58. [3] Janus, 115 *et seq.*

being a politic statesman, was careful how he practised what he preached. The strife as to investitures continued after both he and Henry were dead. The Emperor died excommunicated, and his successor proposed (1111) to resign the right of investiture, provided the bishops and abbots resigned their temporalities. The Pope, Paschal the Second, consented, but the prelates themselves would by no means agree to such a course. Rome was besieged, the Pope yielded the right of investiture, but the Lateran Council went back on his concession, and the Council of Vienne excommunicated the Emperor. Finally the dispute was settled in 1122 by the Concordat of Worms: bishops and abbots were to be elected freely in the presence of the Emperor or his commissioners; the right of investiture by the ring and pastoral staff was to be performed by the Pope, but they were to receive their temporalities from the Emperor by the touch of the sceptre. They were to obey the Pope in matters spiritual, and they were faithfully to discharge to the Emperor all duties incident to their principalities. The Pope had been constrained to abandon his contention 'to make the Church absolutely independent both as to election and as to the possession of vast feudal rights without the obligations of feudal obedience to the Empire.'[1]

In the second half of the twelfth century, with the advent of the Hohenstaufen Emperors, the strife between the Empire and the Papacy entered on a new phase. Frederic Barbarossa was to the Empire what Hildebrand and Innocent were to the popedom. He was assured that his temporal superiority obtained over all other powers, even over that of the Pope. 'His power was of God alone; to assert that it is bestowed by the successor of Saint Peter was a lie, and directly contrary to the doctrine of Saint Peter.'[2] To him, as Freeman says,[3] 'the rights of the Roman Empire were a sacred cause, in whose behalf he was ready to spend and be spent.' For thirty years out of the thirty-eight of his reign he was fighting to maintain his rights as King of Italy against the municipalities of Lombardy, which were fast growing into sovereign commonwealths. He was defeated at the battle

[1] Milman, iv. 294. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 409. [3] Freeman, i. 278.

of Legano (1176); he was obliged to make the peace of Constance (1183), whereby, although the supremacy of the Empire was nominally saved, still the Lombard republics practically became self-governing city-states. In 1159 two Popes had been elected, and the Emperor convened a council at Pavia to decide between rival claims; but Alexander the Third declined to acknowledge the authority. 'No one,' said he, 'has the right to judge me, since I am the supreme judge of all the world.' Thus began the warfare between the Hohenstaufen and the Papacy which, one way and another, lasted for more than a century.

Frederic Barbarossa made his peace with the Pope at Venice just one hundred years after the Humiliation of Canossa; he took the lead in the Third Crusade, and was drowned in a little river in Cilicia. He was succeeded by his son Henry the Sixth, whose overlordship Richard of the Lion Heart was constrained to acknowledge as he lay a prisoner in the Castle of Trifels. After his death the majority of the electors chose his brother, Philip of Swabia, but the minority chose Otto of Brunswick (1197). The next year was marked by the advent to the papal throne of that Pope whose pontificate marks the culminating point of theocratic power.[1] Innocent the Third, elected when he was thirty-eight years of age, reigned for eighteen years: a consummate lawyer, both in the civil and the canon law; well read, and possessing an excellent memory; prudent and methodical, persevering and laborious, he brought the Papacy to the apogee of absolute power. He expected that the disputed election would be referred to him for his decision: it was not referred. Innocent therefore determined to interfere, and he pronounced for Otto of Brunswick, but it was not until the dastardly assassination of Philip of Swabia in 1208 that the Pope's nominee obtained the throne, and then he soon quarrelled with the Pope. In 1212 Innocent accepted Frederic, the grandson of Barbarossa, as Emperor; two years later Otto was defeated at the battle of Bouvines, and Frederic was thenceforth undisputed King of the Romans. The Pope had triumphed for the moment. But the turning-point had been reached. The King of

[1] Rocquain, 139.

France drew a sharp line of distinction between matters spiritual and matters temporal. In his relations to his vassals, in his relations to other kings, he would admit no superiority in the Holy See. The crusaders in the Fourth Crusade were equally deaf to the instructions of the Pope; they turned their arms against a Christian city; they besieged Constantinople itself for the benefit of the Venetians. The Pope tried to start another crusade, but he preached to deaf ears. His letters are measured and circumspect, never imperious. '*Innocent III. lui-même semble hésiter quand il parle du droit du Saint-Siège sur les royaumes et représente celui-ci "comme la source de la puissance" (plenitudo potestatis).*'[1]

In spite, however, of this divergence in political ideas, in spite of the divergence in religious ideas which he tried to combat in his crusade against the Albigenses, Innocent pushed the doctrine of papal supremacy to its height. The old symbol of the soul and the body, to exemplify the relationship of the spiritual and temporal powers, was replaced by that of the sun and the moon; the Pope was the greater orb, the Emperor was the less. Their authority was exemplified by a reference to the two swords. When the Son of God came down on earth to save sinful man and to establish His own rule over the kingdoms of the world, He entered, as the time for redemption drew nigh, the garden which is beyond the brook Kedron, and told His disciples that he among them who had not a sword should sell his coat and buy one; to which they answered that they had already two swords. And the Lord answered that the two swords were enough. These two swords are the emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. Both alike belong to the Pope as the successor of Saint Peter: he wields the one sword himself; the second sword is wielded by the temporal authorities for the Church and under the direction of the Pope.

Under Innocent the Third also the famous fiction of the Translation of the Empire was put into authentic form by the decree *Venerabilem.* It was alleged that the Empire of Charles the Great was the continuation of that universal Empire whose seat Constantine had established at Byzantium,

[1] Rocquain, 190.

which had become vacant by the succession of the woman Irene, which had reverted therefore to its rightful seat, its title devolving on Charles. The Empire had been *transferred* from the Greeks to the Franks by the official act of Pope Leo the Third, so that the event of the year 800 was 'nothing less than a supreme example of the power inherent in the successor of Saint Peter to displace and create Empires.'[1]

Frederic the Second, the most wonderful man of his own or perhaps of any age, '*Stupor mundi et immutator mirabilis*,' as Matthew Paris styled him, the 'mightiest and most dangerous adversary that the Papacy ever had,' as he is described by Freeman,[2] was when eighteen years of age crowned King of the Romans in 1212, and had taken the Cross; on the 22nd November 1220 he was crowned Emperor by Pope Honorius the Third at Saint Peter's, and again received the Cross from the hands of Cardinal Ugolino. By his father's marriage with Constance of Sicily, Frederic was King of Lower Italy and Sicily, but political affairs prevented him from fulfilling his vow before the death of Honorius in 1227. Then Cardinal Ugolino, eighty years of age, became Pope, and took the style of Gregory the Ninth. The Papacy was then at the height of its power; it was, in the words of Hallam, the 'noonday of papal dominion.' The Pope was backed by the league of Lombardy, the Templars and Hospitallers were his sworn champions in the battlefield, the Dominicans and Franciscans were his powerful adherents in peace. Gregory had all the fire, the energy, the ambition of youth; he was a skilled canon lawyer; he knew men and manners; his heart was set on recovering Jerusalem from the Musalman; he would abate none of the pretensions of Innocent the Third. The Emperor was in character, in aim, in object the exact opposite of his grandfather. Frederic Barbarossa had 'exhibited the ordinary character of his time in its very noblest shape; but it was still only the ordinary character of the time.'[3] Frederic the Second was in every point extraordinary. 'A sensualist, yet also a warrior and a politician; a profound lawgiver and an impassioned poet; in his youth fired by crusading fervour, in later life perse-

[1] Poole, 251, 2. [2] Freeman, i. 295. [3] *Ibid.* i. 297.

cuting heretics while himself accused of blasphemy and unbelief; of winning manners and ardently beloved by his followers, but with the stain of more than one cruel deed upon his name, he was the marvel of his own generation, and succeeding ages looked back with awe, not unmingled with pity, upon the inscrutable figure of the last Emperor who had braved all the terrors of the Church and died beneath her ban, the last who had ruled from the sands of the ocean to the shores of the Ionian Sea.'[1] Between such an Emperor and such a Pope there was bound to be war to the knife. The fight was for supremacy. Like Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great; like Justinian, like the Emperors of the East, the new Emperor would have the Church obedient to the Empire. Frederic was determined to have the Pope his inferior; he was ready, if need were, himself to ordain a much better rule of life and belief to all the nations. He had the credit for being a free-thinker and a misbeliever; his jests scandalised the world; he described Moses, Christ, and Muhammed as the three great impostors; he said that if God had seen fertile, smiling Sicily, He would never have given the barren land of Judæa to His chosen people. Pope Gregory excommunicated the Emperor for not going on crusade; he excommunicated him again when he went, he excommunicated him again when he returned. Frederic went; he won Jerusalem for the Christians, he was obliged himself to put the crown on his own head in the Holy City, for no priest would officiate. His offence was that he had won by diplomacy what others had been unable to win by arms; he had made terms with the misbeliever, and was suspected of being a misbeliever himself. After his return from the Holy Land he managed to make terms with the Pope; there was a hollow peace between Gregory and Frederic for nine years (1230-1239). Then war broke out again; the Empire and the Papacy met in implacable strife; the Pope excommunicated the Emperor; the Emperor called on all the sovereigns of Christendom to make a league against the oppression of the Pope and the hierarchy. Pope Gregory the Ninth died in 1241; and

[1] Bryce, 204.

Frederic addressed a circular letter to the sovereigns of Europe, informing them that the Pope had been taken away from this world, and had so escaped the vengeance of the Emperor, of whom he was the implacable enemy.[1] Innocent the Fourth was obliged to flee to France, and held at Lyons, 1245, the Council at which the Emperor was declared deposed; but in spite of all attempts to raise Germany against him, Frederic reigned on undisturbed until his death in 1250.

He was succeeded by his son Conrad in Germany, by his illegitimate son Manfred in Sicily. Still the war between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen continued. At length Pope Urban the Fourth conceived the idea of a league between the Papacy, France, and Naples: he offered the kingdom of Naples in the first instance to Louis the Ninth; it was accepted by the King's brother, Charles of Anjou. The triple alliance succeeded; Charles of Anjou came and conquered; Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufen, the grandson of the Great Emperor, was defeated at Tagliacozzo, and was executed in the market-place at Naples. Thus fell the Hohenstaufen before the Popes. 'The Holy Roman Empire might, and so far as its practical utility was concerned ought, now to have been suffered to expire; nor could it have ended more worthily than with the last of the Hohenstaufen.'[2] But it was not so to be. 'After the fall of the Hohenstaufens the prostrate Empire recognised in principle the supremacy of the Pope; the Habsburgers confirmed the theory that the Pope was the light-giving sun, the Emperor only the pallid moon or lesser light. As the Popes had formerly sent their decrees of election for examination to the Emperor, so the Emperors now sent their decrees of election to the Popes, implored the latter to ratify them and to award them the crown of Charles the Great, which they patiently submitted to receive as a favour from the Pope after he had examined them in person. The triumph of the Church was consequently complete. The Imperial power lay at the feet of the Popes, who, after a memorable trial of more than two hundred years, had scored one of the greatest victories known to history.'[3]

[1] Milman, vi. 221. [2] Bryce, 208. [3] Gregorovius, vi. 120.

After the ruin of the greatest of the German houses, there came the Kaiserless time, the Great Interregnum, during which there was no king in Germany, and the election was disputed between Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile. Anarchy everywhere prevailed; the great lords, spiritual and temporal, to whom Frederic had granted extensive charters, made war openly to increase their domains; the commercial leagues and the cities, on whose rising fortune he had looked coldly, were forced to protect themselves; the rivers and the highways were infested with robber-knights. With the accession of Rudolf of Habsburg in 1273 the Empire entered on the third stage of its existence: it was shattered, crippled, degraded; but it still remained in the eyes of all a necessary part of the world's order; and it had furthermore become indissolubly connected with the German kingdom.[1] It had been mighty as a fact, it was still mighty as an idea; it was to inspire Dante and Petrarch; kings were still to cross the Alps to take the iron crown of Lombardy and the golden crown of Empire. But the kingdom of Germany was henceforth terribly overweighted by the burden of the Holy Roman Empire.

The Papacy meantime enjoyed the noonday of its triumph. Gregory the Ninth had affirmed that the Pope was sovereign master of all in the world, and of all their possessions; whatever he might have delegated to emperor or king, his proprietary right remained intact. Innocent the Fourth pointed out that the Donation of Constantine was merely a restitution of what had formerly been given him, that Christ had transmitted to Saint Peter the empire of this world when He bestowed on him the two massy keys of metals twain. Boniface the Eighth, in the Bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302), again derived the omnipotence of the Pope from the giving of the two swords, one to be used by the Church, the other under its orders, and declared that whosoever did not believe that every human creature was subject to the Pope would be damned everlastingly. It was this same Pope who showed 'himself to the crowding pilgrims at the jubilee of A.D. 1300, seated on the throne of Constantine, arrayed with sword

[1] Bryce, 210.

and crown and sceptre, shouting aloud, "I am Cæsar! I am Emperor!"'[1]

These far-reaching claims to temporal overlordship at the expense of the temporal powers were for the time successful. Gregory the Seventh had claimed that the Church was entirely free from all bonds of the State, and that the civil power needed not only the assistance, but also the authority, of the Church. Up to the end of the thirteenth century this theory remained practically unquestioned. It was upheld by John of Salisbury, by Saint Thomas Aquinas. Under Gregory and Innocent the Papacy had won for itself the respect of mankind by its moral superiority, by the fair and unimpassioned manner in which it decided disputes among the lay powers of the earth, by its rectitude of purpose and its nobility of principle. It had at this time no temporal power to back its decisions; it rested for the enforcement of its orders on the moral approbation and support of mankind. It was secure above all in the high character of the Popes, in their political ability and discretion no less than in their conscientiousness and virtue. When these qualities failed the Popes the hour of danger came. The high claims of the Papacy required the best, the most virtuous, the wisest of men to enforce them successfully; when lesser men came, who failed to comprehend and to rise to the height of their great mission, then the nature of their pretensions was questioned and disputed. Gregory and Innocent, though the greatest of the Popes, had been alike politic and circumspect; Gregory had given way to William the Conqueror; the Kings of France had been invariably treated with deference. Both these Popes had required the obedience of kings, but they sought not to abase them; they upheld the royal dignity against all save themselves. But it was otherwise with their successors, Boniface the Eighth and John the Twenty-second; they were men of smaller political ability, who failed to read the signs of the times; they were intoxicated with the sense of their own high position; they inherited the pretensions of their predecessors, and rashly and unwisely resolved to push them to their very uttermost limits.

[1] Bryce, 108.

On Christmas Eve, 1294, Benedict Gaetani became Pope Boniface the Eighth; fourteen months later he was at war with the eldest son of the Church. Philip the Fair had diverted to his war against England the tithes levied for the crusade against Aragon. The Pope, on 24th February 1296, fulminated the decretal *Clericis Laicos*, forbidding the clergy to pay any taxes to the civil power without previous permission of the Pope. Neither Philip of France nor Edward of England paid the slightest attention to the decretal. Philip retorted by forbidding the exportation of any money to Rome. Boniface was at this time at strife with the Colonnas in Rome and with the Aragonese in Sicily. He therefore agreed with his adversary Philip quickly. But in 1301 a second cause of dispute arose, the matter of the Bishop of Pamiers. The Pope sent a fresh Bull, *Ausculta Fili*, to Philip, which the King burned. Then the French clergy were summoned to Rome for council. But the Popes had, by their excessive centralisation and by their favouring the regulars, utterly broken the power and cowed the spirit of the secular clergy, and they with one accord began to excuse themselves. Philip, beaten by the Flemish at the battle of Courtrai, hesitated a little, but then plucked up spirit, and defended himself in his *Responsiones*. Boniface refused to accept the King's excuses, declared them frivolous, and threatened him with pains spiritual and temporal. The direction of the matter was left by Philip to Nogaret. Boniface was at his birthplace, Agnani. Nogaret proceeded there, and was joined by Sciarra Colonna and others. Then followed the Outrage of Agnani, two centuries and a quarter after the Humiliation of Canossa. Boniface died shortly after (11th October 1303). Thus it was that 'the conqueror of the Empire fell beneath the defiance of the French King, Philip the Fair, or more truly beneath the irresistible opposition of a strong national spirit in the kingdoms of Europe.'[1] Boniface was unable to see that the pretension to temporal lordship which he put forward had outlived its time, that a spirit was born in the countries of Western Europe which would no longer suffer the Pope's dominion in matters temporal.

[1] Poole, 248.

The Popes had pretended to spiritual and to temporal lordship; the fourteenth century was to teach them that they had no temporal dominion over the kingdoms of Europe; it was also to contest their spiritual claims. Nearly all the literature hitherto had been on the side of the Papacy, exalting its claims. Now the tide had turned. The claims of the Papacy were to be brought low; the claims of the Empire were to be exalted.

The opposition to the temporal claims of the Papacy naturally first became prominent in France during the strife between Philip the Fair and Boniface the Eighth; there had been very few jurists or political philosophers able to take up the cudgels in Germany for the Hohenstaufen. But in the University of Paris intellectual life and discussion were vigorous. Pierre du Bois, a royal advocate in the bailliage of Coutances, published his treatise, the *Quaestio de Potestate Papae*, and probably four other treatises also, about the year 1303; John of Paris published his *Tractatus de Potestate regia et papali* at the same time. Both writers start with the assumption that France forms no part of the Empire, and hence they are able to treat their subjects in a philosophical spirit. Their arguments are derived from the Bible and Aristotle, but passages from the Bible which had previously been understood in a mystical sense are now taken literally. In the 'Dispute between the Soldier and the Clerk,' the former relies on Christ's words, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' 'Christ,' he says, 'ordained Peter to be priest and bishop, but never dubbed him knight nor crowned him king'; he draws a sharp distinction between spiritual and temporal matters; it is for the Pope to punish sins, for the king to punish crimes; for the latter to enforce civil rights, for the former spiritual; the servants of the Lord should take thought only for what is necessary, they should devote their superfluities to good works; since the King has to take thought for the general safety, he can tax the clergy as well as the laity; he can alter the laws, customs, and privileges of his kingdom as necessity may require.[1] Pierre du Bois regarded the Papacy merely as a state, possessing no

[1] Riezler, 147.

temporal authority over France, as a state with which the French King could treat just as he treated with any other state. John of Paris was no less outspoken. He admitted that the Church might own property, but she held it not 'by virtue of any vicarship of apostolical succession, but simply by way of grant from princes or other persons, or by similar titles of succession.'[1] He defines the temporal power as the rule by one of many for the common good; the spiritual power he describes as that conferred on the Church by Christ for the dispensation of the sacraments to the faithful. It is necessary that there should be one spiritual authority over the whole world, but it is not necessary that there should be one temporal power. As Head of the Church the Pope has a limited control over the goods of the clergy, but he has none over the goods of the laity, for Christ had none; if the destruction of the swine be alleged, they were probably wild pigs, and at any rate were not good for the Jews to eat. Christ only gave spiritual power to Peter; He gave him no temporal power; if so, what was the good of the Donation of Constantine? The Emperor possesses a temporal jurisdiction, the Pope a spiritual. If the former falls into sin or unbelief, the Pope can warn him or excommunicate him; if the Pope, on the other hand, practises usury, or otherwise breaks the temporal law of the Empire, the Emperor can warn and punish him, as the examples of Constantine the Second and John the Twelfth prove. The Pope possessed no temporal overlordship; the delivery of the two swords to Peter, which the Papacy had always interpreted in a literal sense, was taken by their opponents in a mystical or figurative sense only, from which no argument could be drawn.

Rather earlier than these works is that of Jordan of Osnabruck, probably about 1285, on the Holy Roman Empire; rather later, about 1307-1310, is the work of the Abbot of Admont; then a year or two after this appeared Dante's well-known *De Monarchia*. These writers believed in a world-monarchy as essential for the welfare of the world; they held the existing Empire to be a continuation of that of

[1] Riezler, 149.

Rome, and traced it back through Æneas the Trojan to the fourth great beast spoken of by Daniel the Prophet. The Empire, therefore, dated from a time when Popes and Bishops were unheard of; it was universal; other kingdoms—Spain, France, Hungary, and the like—might be independent of it; but their position established no common law; an Empire was necessary to fight the unbeliever. After Charles the Great had restored to the Church the temporalities rent away by the Lombards, after he had bestowed on it the Duchies of Benevento and Spoleto, Pope Hadrian, in a Council at Rome, had formally acknowledged the King's right to choose the Pope; and Pope Leo the Third had adored Charles after he had been crowned Augustus Imperator in 800. Christ's promise to Peter, that whatsoever he bound on earth to be bound in heaven, Dante refers entirely to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Popes; he rejects the simile of the sun and the moon, and also that of the two swords.

Lupold of Bebenburg took up the theory of Dante, and pressed it to its limits. He began by showing that Charles the Great was a Teuton, that France was one of the countries subject to the Teuton Emperor, and that the translation in the time of Otto was merely a renewal of that in the time of Charles. The Empire had been transferred, not by the Pope, but by the Roman people. The Donation of Constantine was a fiction; all that Constantine had done was to choose a Pope, in order to be anointed by him, and to appoint Rome for his dwelling, while he himself went to Byzantium; but he divided the Empire, east and west, between his sons. The right to elect the Emperor had been derived, not from the Church, but from the princes and people, who had transferred it to the Electors in the time of Otto the Third. Their election gave full right to the King; the Pope's investigation, prior to anointing and crowning, might in the case of a King who had committed sin and refused to do penance, result in excommunication, and even in his consequent deposition by the Electors. The anointing and crowning by the Pope was not indeed an empty form, for it invested the Emperor with the rightful sway over lands which he had not yet subdued; for the sway of the Emperor extended to the

whole world.[1] It was unfortunate that these elaborate theories as to the world-wide extension of the Empire should only have been perfected when the Empire itself was in decadence. Dante's book was 'an epitaph instead of a prophecy': [2] so, too, were the works of Lupold of Bebenburg.

After the Outrage of Agnani, and the short pontificate of Benedict the Eleventh, the new Pope, Clement the Fifth, was elected on the 5th June 1305. He was a Frenchman, Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux; he was crowned at Lyons, and never set foot in Italy. Now followed the Babylonish Captivity at the 'sinful city of Avenon'; for seventy years the Popes dwelt in the wide windy plain between the Alps and Cevennes; they steadily lost their prestige in the eyes of Europe, and were regarded as the obedient henchmen of the French King. Seven Popes in succession were Frenchmen; all, without exception, were more or less dependent on France.[3] Several of them were excellent administrators; they also pushed missionary effort in the East, and endeavoured thus to enlarge the borders of Christendom. But their situation damaged them in the eyes of other countries; the College of Cardinals became preponderatingly French; the Curia was largely officered by Frenchmen; the Pope was compromised in the eyes of the world; he was no longer regarded as the impartial judge, as the supreme Father of Christendom, to whom kings and litigants might look for arbitration and justice. There arose a feeling of antagonism to the Papacy which had thus become of one nation. If the long strife between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen had shaken the belief in the concord and connection of the Empire and the Papacy, the feeling was strengthened when men saw the Papacy become little better than the mere ecclesiastical department of a kingdom notoriously at variance with the Empire. And yet the Popes at Avignon were much more independent in their policy than they were popularly credited with being. The most submissive Pope, Clement the Fifth, by his policy of masterly inactivity, thwarted the wishes of the King of France in the very matter of the Empire. Damaged and battered

[1] Riezler, 180-192. [2] Bryce, 276. [3] Pastor, i. 58.

as the imperial crown might be, the old belief in a world-empire was still strong; it was supported by the clerical character of all culture and by the study of Roman Law. The practical question was now not so much the mere existence as the practical exercise of this empire; was it necessary that it should be always German? If an Englishman and a Castilian had been, might not a Frenchman be elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and with more power, gain a wider and more real sway? Albert of Austria, King of the Romans, was assassinated on the 1st May 1308; Charles of Valois, the French King's brother, was a candidate for the Empire. Clement saw the overwhelming power which such a choice would give France; he prevaricated and delayed; he would not in so many words recommend Charles to the Archbishops of the Rhine. The secular electors were equally averse to the choice of a Frenchman. Baldwin, Archbishop of Trier, suggested a compromise: his brother, Henry of Luxemburg, was elected, and France was checkmated (1308). He was crowned Emperor at Rome in 1312; he died in Italy in 1313. Next year there was a double election in Germany.

Clement the Fifth died in 1314; his successor was not elected until 1316. John the Twenty-second determined to urge against the Empire the most extreme claims of the Papacy. He pushed his pretensions further even than Boniface the Eighth. Since Christ had invested Peter with the temporal no less than with the spiritual kingdom of this world, it followed that what the Pope had given, in the Translation of the Empire, the Pope could also take away; and that when the Emperor died the jurisdiction of the Empire reverted to the Pope, and that it was for him to appoint the new Emperor. The Pope, says Augustinus Triumphus, who dedicated his treatise *Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica* to Pope John between 1324 and 1328,[1] may choose an Emperor at his own discretion, depriving the established Electors of their privilege, and thus altering the constitution of the Empire.[2] This was the contention of Pope John, and this was the crux of the quarrel between the Popes and Louis of Bavaria.[3] The Germans contended that

[1] Riezler, 301. [2] Poole, 254. [3] Riezler, 120.

it was for the Electors to choose the future Emperor, and for the Pope to crown the object of their choice; that in the event of a contested election, it was for the God of Battles to decide between the rival candidates.[1] Louis of Bavaria had been elected by five Electors, Frederic of Austria by two; and the God of Battles at Mühldorf had decided in favour of Louis. The claim of the Pope was not one which the Electors could pass over in silence. They met at Rense and at Frankfurt in 1338, and resolved that the prince elected by them became King of the Romans without further ceremony, without need for Papal confirmation. Eighteen years later this position was upheld by that good Son of the Church, Charles the Fourth; the Golden Bull passed over in complete silence the Papal claims to veto or confirm an election, or to administer the Empire during a vacancy. Pope John the Twenty-second, however, who even went so far at one time as to determine to oust the Empire from all claim to overlordship or concern in Italy,[2] was firm to obstinacy in his quarrel with the Emperor, and demanded that Louis should resign his crown. This advance in the Papal pretensions took place at a critical time. The Empire had lost its old prestige. France, England, Poland, Hungary, Scandinavia, no longer acknowledged any German overlordship; early in the fourteenth century French jurists had denied in express terms that France formed any part of the Empire. There were reasons, they said, which warranted the Pope's interference in Germany, which were inapplicable to France or to England, seeing that these countries had not been included in the Donation of Constantine.[3] The Germano-Roman Empire was already in the eyes of foreigners dwindling into a mere German kingdom. It was at this time, when the power of Germany was thus diminished, when the Pope at Avignon was regarded as a virtual dependant of the King of France, that these extraordinary claims were put forward. So vast, so unlimited were the pretensions of John, as of Boniface, that in the countries where a feeling of nationality was gradually rising into existence, where the modern consciousness of patriotism was then taking birth,

[1] Riezler, 100. [2] *Ibid.* 87. [3] *Ibid.* 143.

these pretensions naturally caused revolt, and a serious diminution of the actual power of the Pope necessarily ensued.

The gradual disappearance of the old feeling of citizenship in a world-empire, which was a very different sentiment from modern cosmopolitanism, had allowed room for the growth of the new feeling of nationality. So long as the older and wider sentiment existed, the newer and more local pride in one's own country could not commence; but with the gradual disappearance of the former, the latter feeling, in countries where the different parts and peoples cohered sufficiently, gradually took its place. In such countries it began naturally where they had been longest separated from the Empire. England was the first country to become distinctly a nation with an independent, self-centred life and policy; Saxons and Normans and Britons had coalesced into one people, and that people had become a nation with a patriotism of its own. The acquisition of the large kingdom of Toulouse toward the close of the thirteenth century allowed a similar feeling to develop in France, but Brittany, and to a lesser extent Guyenne, was still a land apart; and it was not until the time of Joan of Arc that the sentiment of nationality became general. La Pucelle was the godmother of modern France. In 1344 King Peter of Aragon told Pope Clement the Sixth that in worldly matters he recognised no superior save God; and the same feeling prevailed in Scandinavia and in Hungary. In Italy, however, although loyalty to the Empire was cold and interested, no feeling of nationality took its place; it was supplanted by a narrower sentiment of pride in one's own city or republic; a man was proud of being a citizen of Florence, Bologna, or Perugia, but he felt no pride in being an Italian. In Germany disruption was general: the man of Bremen had no sympathy with the man of Frankfurt, the Westphalian had nothing in common with the Saxon or the Bavarian. But although Louis of Bavaria had no patriotism at his back to help him in his struggle with the Papacy, he had other and very formidable allies.

The new quarrel between the Empire and the Papacy began in 1323. A year or two later, between the summer

of 1324 and the autumn of 1326,[1] Marsiglio of Padua, with the help of John of Jandun, published his *Defensor Pacis*, a work startlingly modern in its thought and reasoning. So utterly divergent is it from mediæval sentiment that it is small wonder that Pope Clement the Sixth, when he read it, exclaimed that he had never come across a worse heretic than this Marsiglio. The Italian physician, rector of the University of Paris, was forty-five years of age at this time, a man imbued with the Politics of Aristotle and with the arguments of the French apologists for Philip the Fair; he was in the Middle Age but not of it; a cold-blooded political philosopher, he was of the eighteenth, or of the twentieth, century rather than of the fourteenth. Some of his theories were realised at the Reformation, some in the political revolutions, some are still on the anvil of Time. His work is a defence of the State against the Church. The State is a community to ensure a good life in this world and in the next. The sovereign body is the community of the citizens or the majority of them; and if it be alleged that most men are fools, still a man often grasps an idea when it is put forth by another, and thus understands what he himself could neither have initiated nor discovered. One duty of the sovereign body is to make the laws necessary for the enforcement of right; a law is a rule, by whatever name known, enforced by a sanction. All are entitled to participate in the making of laws except minors, bondsmen, strangers, and women. Laws are best prepared by the old and experienced rather than by handicraftsmen; by them they should be presented to the assembly for discussion, before being passed, amended, or rejected. Another duty of the sovereign body is to appoint their ruler; he should be one who will conduct himself according to their will; he must be clever and capable, and supported by a sufficient body of troops to enforce obedience but not to usurp authority; it is for him to enforce the laws of which the sovereign body or their representatives declare the meaning; his correction and his removal rest with the sovereign body, but his slight deviations from the law should be winked at. All this was fine theory, far

[1] Riezler, 196.

ahead of the times; it would have been passed in silence by the Church.

The head and front of Marsiglio's offending was when he came to deal with the relations between Church and State. It is to the interference of the Popes, of Clement the Fifth with Henry the Seventh, of Boniface the Eighth with Philip the Fair, of John the Twenty-second with Louis of Bavaria, that he attributes the trouble and unrest in the world. The Pope has assumed a primacy which Saint Peter never possessed over the other apostles; he bases his claim on the Donation of Constantine, which is vague and obsolete and restricted; on the *plenitudo potestatis*, which is not warranted by Scripture as pretended. The Emperors formerly regulated the election of Popes; and if they allowed themselves to be consecrated by the Pope, this gave him no more right over them than the Archbishop of Rheims has over the King of France. Christ bestowed on His apostles spiritual powers, but no coercive jurisdiction enabling them to interfere in temporal affairs; His kingdom was not of this world; He ordained His followers to teach His gospel and to administer the sacraments. The power of the keys, the power to loose and to bind, refers only to the sacrament of penance; and here the forgiveness of sins belongs to God alone; the priest cannot forgive a hypocrite nor refuse absolution to a penitent; he is merely the turnkey carrying out the orders of the Divine Judge. The Church is the community of all believers; the laity have as good a right as the priests to be styled *viri ecclesiastici*; all alike are subject to the temporal law, though bishops and priests ought to be punished more severely than others because they are more enlightened. Sins are to be admonished by the clergy, but their punishment belongs to God, and is reserved for the next world; even heresy can only be punished on earth so far as it is contrary to the temporal law. Excommunication, again, cannot be pronounced by any single priest or bishop; it is reserved for the community or for a general council; for Christ commanded not, when thy brother sin against thee, to tell it to the bishop or priest or the College of Cardinals, but to tell it to the Church. Moreover, all priests should follow their Master in

apostolic poverty and in contempt of this world; they should possess no real property; they should have no right to follow personal property into the hands of others; benefices belong to the patrons, not to the Church. The Catholic Faith rests on the Bible only, not on decrees or decretals of Popes or Cardinals; doubts as to the interpretation of the Scripture should be settled by a general council, on which laity and clergy alike sit; the council is convoked by the sovereign body, the Pope as Bishop of Rome presides, but has no coercive jurisdiction beyond what is conferred by the council.

The pretensions of the Popes against the Empire are then discussed. The shortsightedness of the Emperors in allowing themselves to be crowned and anointed had engendered in the Popes the pretension that their confirmation of the choice of the Electors is necessary, thereby making the seven Electors of as little account as if they were seven barbers or seven blind men; the authority of the King is derived from the sovereign body or their proctors. As a matter of fact, such papal confirmation is entirely unnecessary; the right conferred by election is complete and needs no recognition or confirmation by the Pope to supplement it.

'This remarkable work of Marsiglio,' says Creighton,[1] 'stands on the very threshold of modern history as a clear forecast of the ideas which were to regulate the future progress of Europe.' With this work in their hands the two students appeared at the Court at Nuernberg. 'By God!' said King Louis, 'who can have induced you to leave that land of peace and quiet for this warlike kingdom of uproar and trouble?' They explained. There was a consultation. Finally the King received them with open arms, appointed Marsiglio his physician, and soon installed him as his counsellor. 'I am a man of war,' said Louis, 'and understand nothing of sciences and learned subtleties.' In 1327 the King entered Italy, and Marsiglio, who was allowed to preach against the Pope, was soon in a position to carry his theories into practice.

On the 17th January 1328, Louis was chosen to be Emperor by the acclamation of the Roman people, and

[1] Creighton, i. 46.

Sciarra Colonna, who twenty-five years earlier had stood 'in the burning palace of Agnani, his sword pointed at the Pope's breast,' placed the crown of Empire on his head. It was the realisation of the theory of Marsiglio; it was also the first time a German King had ever received the sacred diadem from the people of Rome.[1] A public parliament was held on the 18th April, and the Pope was deposed; Peter of Corbara, a Franciscan friar, was elected Pope by the people of Rome on the 12th May, and the Emperor set the crown on his head. Louis, however, was but a pinchbeck Emperor, a mere parody of Frederic the Second; and the proceedings at Rome must have appeared ridiculous in the eyes of all sober Christians. Frederic the Second was a man of moderation when compared with the rash revolutionary Louis of Bavaria.[2] The revulsion soon came. The King was unable to make any headway against Robert of Naples. The fickle Romans turned against him. Louis, the anti-Pope, the anti-cardinals left Rome amid showers of stones, and the dominion of the rightful Pope was at once restored. Disaster dogged the Emperor's footsteps: his troops mutinied; his adversaries in Germany threatened to set up a new king; he was compelled to leave Italy; his journey to Rome had been utterly unsuccessful; 'its actual result was the extinction of the last shadow of respect enjoyed by the Empire, and the entire destruction of the dream of Dante and the Ghibelines, who had expected the salvation of Italy at the hands of the Roman Emperor.'[3]

Louis had failed disastrously in his Italian expedition, but to his court at Munich there flocked all the most influential thinkers and writers of the day. Michael of Cesena, the General of the Franciscan Order, who counted Pope John a heretic because he exposed the absurdity of their theory of apostolic poverty, composed a 'Tractate against the errors of the Pope.' Like Marsiglio, he upheld a general council as superior in authority; a Pope may err, as many have erred, in faith and morals, but a council representing the Universal Church is free from error. Bonagratia of Bergamo, Ubertino of Casale, Francesco of Ascoli, and his namesake of Marca,

[1] Gregorovius, vi. 147. [2] *Ibid.* vi. 159. [3] *Ibid.* vi. 173.

Heinrich of Thalheim, Parisian and Italian professors, English and German Franciscans—all were found at the Bavarian court. The most famous of all was the Englishman, William of Ockham, the nominalist leader who had finally settled the controversy of the schools. 'Defend me with your sword, and I will defend you with my pen,' was his greeting to the monarch—a greeting which was repeated three hundred years later by a much smaller divine to our own King James the First. Ockham took part in the active resistance to the Pope, and his writings are his defence and justification. He wrote as a mediæval philosopher, and hence his works, though they lack the modern thought and brilliance of Marsiglio, had much more influence with his contemporaries. He 'handed down a light which was never suffered to be extinguished, and which served as a beacon to pioneers of reform like Wyclif and Hus.'[1] He also holds that the Pope is fallible, but even a general council, to which women as well as men should be admitted, may also err; in which case, '*errante tota multitudine Christianorum . . . possunt salvari promissiones Christi per parvulos baptizatos.*'[2] Like Marsiglio, William of Ockham was not really in love with the imperial idea; 'all that is of importance to them is to erect the estate into an organic, consolidated force independent of, and in its own province superior to, that of the spirituality; and this done, they circumscribe even the spiritual part of the papal authority by making it in all respects subject to the general voice of Christendom.'[3]

The writings of the refugees, the declarations of the German Electors at Rense and the German Estates at Frankfurt, had shattered the Hildebrandine doctrine of the civil supremacy of the Papacy. Not merely the religious dissidents and the speculative philosophers, but those who were dissatisfied with the moral conditions of the Curia and the clergy, those who were shocked by the pomp and simony, the extortion and sensuality which disfigured the Church, were inclined to group themselves under the ægis of the Empire, its former associate but now its rival. The Empire was still the centre

[1] Poole, 277. [2] Goldast, *Monarchiae S. Romani Imperii*, ii. 506.
[3] Poole, 279.

of knighthood, the maker of kings; it had been ruled uniformly for four centuries, from Henry the Fowler to Charles the Fourth, by men of character and energy, who spent themselves freely in the service of the State.

John the Twenty-second died in 1334, just as he was to be summoned before a council for a fresh heresy; Benedict the Twelfth, who would have given his soul to reconcile the Emperor, if he had had another soul in addition to that which was already pledged to the King of France, died in 1342; and at this time Louis took a step which proved fatal to him. Margaret Maultasch, of the Tirol, who had married a son of King John of Bohemia, grew tired of her husband, discarded him, and threw herself on the protection of the Emperor. Louis pronounced her divorce, and according to the theories of Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockham, he was able to justify this step; but his glaring self-seeking was apparent when he married 'pock-mouthed Meg' to his own son, Louis of Brandenburg. The clergy were up in arms at his assumption of clerical powers, the lay princes were disgusted at the addition of the Tirol to the House of Bavaria. Pope Clement the Sixth was now able to raise an anti-imperial party in Germany; he deposed the Archbishop of Mainz, who adhered to Louis, and appointed Gerlach of Nassau in his place; the three Archbishops, the King of Bohemia, and Rudolf of Saxony then formally elected Charles of Bohemia as King of the Romans. War between the rival monarchs was averted by the death of Louis, while boar-hunting near Munich, on the 11th October 1347.

Charles, the Pfaffen-Kaiser or parson's Emperor, was now King of the Romans. His succession, however, was not undisputed. The deposed Archbishop of Mainz, and three others who claimed electoral votes, offered the crown to Edward the Third, to Louis of Brandenburg, to Frederic of Meissen, all of whom declined the honour. They finally elected Gunther of Schwartzburg, who accepted it, but died on the 14th June 1350, leaving Charles undisputed King. The new monarch was a man of rare diplomatic ability and of no illusions. He had been with his father in Italy, and knew that Italy was only a clog on Germany. Rudolf of Habsburg

had abandoned to the Pope the territories of Matilda of Tuscany. Charles, when he went into Italy, appointed existing rulers to be vicars of the Empire, in the hope that they might thereby acknowledge its shadowy feudal superiority, but he renounced all those territorial rights for which his predecessors had fought. He had also lived in France, and knew the danger of territorial encroachment on that side, and got himself crowned King at Arles in consequence. But his main endeavour was to build up a strong kingdom to serve as a territorial basis for the Empire, which he hoped to make hereditary in the House of Luxemburg; he failed to make the Empire hereditary, but his policy was later successfully pursued by the House of Habsburg and was essentially sound. He won over the imperial cities to his side by the concession of privileges; he won over the House of Habsburg by the marriage of his eldest son Rudolf; he won over the House of Wittelsbach by his own marriage with the daughter of the Elector Palatine; he won over the House of Brandenburg by disowning the 'false Waldemar.' He attempted to make Bohemia the corner-stone of the Empire, transferring the sovereignty from the west to the east; he founded the University of Prague, the first university in Germany, and attracted there thousands of students from all Christendom. He supported the claim of his brother Wenzel to the Duchies of Brabant and Limburg against the pretensions of the Count of Flanders; he secured the succession to the Duchy of Brandenburg and the reversion of the Tirol. The great weakness of Germany was its utter want of political union; the princes had become independent; the spiritual lords were 'more formidable from their possessions than those of any other European country, and enjoyed far larger privileges'; the cities tended to become independent republics, and were always ready to make leagues among themselves regardless of the imperial sanction or interest. Little was now left of the crown lands; the regalian rights had been mostly seized or granted away; the Emperor had the mines in Bohemia and an 'inglorious traffic in honours and exemptions' as his main fiscal resource. Yet with all these disadvantages Charles the Fourth made the Empire

stronger and more respected, and he succeeded in leaving it to his eldest and dearly loved son, Wenzel. The greatest achievement of his reign was the Golden Bull.

It was patent to all that the disputed elections caused continual disorder, and that one cause for the disputes was the uncertainty as to the rules of election. This uncertainty Charles rectified by the Golden Bull. Although he himself had admitted the necessity for confirmation of the election by the Pope before the King of the Romans could be crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, yet the papal claims were passed over in complete silence and the electoral resolution of Rense became the law of the Empire; on this point the Pope showed his displeasure, but Charles remained firm. The number of the Electors was to be seven. In the first place were the three great Archbishops of the Rhine: the Archbishop of Mainz, arch-chancellor of Germany; the Archbishop of Cologne, arch-chancellor of Italy; and the Archbishop of Trier, arch-chancellor of Burgundy,—these three represented the German Church. Then came the King of Bohemia, cupbearer of the Emperor; the Count Palatine, who was grand seneschal; the Duke of Saxony, who was grand marshal; and the Markgraf of Brandenburg, who was grand chamberlain. The territories of the Electors were to be indivisible, and were to descend by the law of primogeniture in lineal agnatic succession. The Habsburgs and the Bavarian Wittelsbachs were weakened by the Bull, as also were the cities, which were forbidden to form confederations without the permission of their territorial lords or to admit outsiders to their citizenship. There were defects and omissions in the Golden Bull; there was little that was new; but it crystallised into a constitutional law of the Empire much that was aforetime in part matter of custom, in part matter of dispute. In transferring the balance of power and of civilisation to the east of Germany, Charles was influenced by his desire to unite the eastern Slavs with Bohemia and to 'pave the way for a union between the Latin and Greek Churches.' He was harshly described by Maximilian the First as 'the father of Bohemia, but the stepfather of the Empire'; but if his first thought was for

Bohemia, he also did his duty by the Empire. 'He had none of the romantic enthusiasm of his father or his grandfather, but he had what was far better—a strong sense of the practical duties of government, and a strenuous business capacity which enabled him to carry them out. It is true that he failed to maintain the Ghibeline cause in Italy, but he preferred the more solid and substantial aim of building up a territorial monarchy in Germany. He was distinguished among contemporary monarchs for his preference of diplomacy to force, for his strong legal sense and his love of order. Like Edward the First of England and Philip the Fourth of France, he marks the transition from mediæval to modern ideals and methods of government.'[1]

Two months before Charles died (1378) there commenced the great Schism of the West.

[1] Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages*, 112.

# CHAPTER II

## THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH

### (1) Its Popular Side

'The two great ideas which expiring antiquity bequeathed to the ages which followed,' says Mr. Bryce, 'were those of a World-Monarchy and a World-Religion.'[1] These two ideas were intimately connected. God had entrusted the care of men's bodies to the Emperor, His vicar on earth in matters temporal; and the care of their souls to the Pope, His vicar on earth in matters spiritual. The Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church thus represent two aspects of the same world-wide coextensive rule. In the preceding chapter a brief survey of the Empire at the time of the commencement of the Great Schism has been given; and we have seen how it had shrunk and contracted until it was now merely the Romano-Germanic Empire, with hardly a foothold outside Germany, but with much of the glamour of the old title still attaching to the person and the office of the Emperor. Up to the time of the Schism the Church had preserved its title as the world-religion; Christians everywhere were still united in one religion under one father, the Pope.

Another tie that bound all Christians together was the fact that in their services and worship they all used one language—the language of the Holy Roman Church, which she used then and uses still to-day. Not only was Latin the language of the Church, it was the language of all educated people throughout Europe. The clergy everywhere talked Latin and wrote Latin; it was the one language of educa-

[1] Bryce, 90.

tion. At Paris or at Prague, at Oxford or at Bologna, the student heard lectures in Latin, took his notes in Latin, read Latin, wrote Latin, spoke Latin. International intercourse was immensely facilitated by this use of a common tongue. A scholar went from one university to another; he exchanged kindly greetings with the clergy on the way; he was welcomed at the parsonages and monasteries; the use of the *lingua franca* paved the way for him everywhere. And it was the outward mark of men's common belief; it enabled the stranger to take his part in the church service; even the peasant might learn his Pater Noster and Ave Maria. The nations grew up and gradually used their national tongues, dropping the use of Latin; but the Church remained one and indivisible, using the language which had been her own from the beginning.

From the days of the Ottos onwards, the Papacy had been growing in influence and esteem until it reached its zenith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The greater Popes had striven to realise their high calling as being set in authority over princes and kings who were warring on all sides; they had kept themselves above the smoke and stir of European strife and warfare; they had endeavoured to establish an authoritative council of unimpassioned aim and high morality, aloof from the selfish plans and lustful passions of secular princes. Such a tribunal was then sorely wanted, and such a tribunal the Papacy did to some extent supply, enforcing its decrees by spiritual sanctions. The Church in the days of her greatest glory had no military force to support her. The years that lie between the rise of the monks of Cluni and the coming of the Friars, the years from Hildebrand to Innocent the Third, form for the Holy Roman Church an epoch of splendour and glory, an epoch during which her power over the secular lords of the earth was the mightiest, during which her influence for good was most strikingly exercised. Her spiritual claims were justified by the beneficial uses to which they were applied. It was not orthodoxy alone that the Church represented; it asserted also the moral conscience of humanity. It waged war not only with heretics such as the Patarines and the

Albigenses; it waged war also with the tyrant, the adulterer, the oppressor. The worst of our Plantagenet kings, the only king thoroughly despicable and contemptible, was John Lackland: Innocent the Third excommunicated him. The most inhuman and barbarous of Italian tyrants was Eccelino da Romano: Alexander the Fourth preached a crusade and sent an army against him. When Philip Augustus deserted his wife, Ingeburg of Denmark, for the beautiful Agnes of Meran, Innocent the Third did not hesitate to excommunicate him. But until the time of this pontiff the Church had no temporal power. 'She was strong only in the moral force which is given by public approbation. Her voice was effectual only so far as it was re-echoed by public opinion. Her penalties were enforced only where their justice was recognised. With all its defects the Mediæval Church uttered the only possible protest against the tyranny of an unruly oligarchy. . . . The authority of the Pope was a useful refuge against the overweening power of the King and lords.'[1] And if the Church was thus, for the mighty ones of the earth, a court of equity and good conscience, a tribunal whose decrees were usually respected and obeyed, to the people at large she was a haven of shelter and peace. In the age of feudal warfare, an age of unbridled tumult and ferocity, the highest and holiest aspirations of all were for peace and rest, for quietude and order; and it was because the Church offered a haven of rest to the rich, a haven of refuge to the poor, that she obtained such a firm hold on the affection of the Middle Ages. The high-born lord or lady did not disdain the shades of the cloister; King Rudolf's daughter, Euphemia, became a nun; his son-in-law, Otto, became a monk. In Germany, where the right of private war was universally exercised, many a warrior, weary of strife, must have looked forward to end his days in the peaceful seclusion of the convent walls—

'For if heven be on this erthe and ese to any soule,
It is in cloistere (says William Langland),
For in cloistere cometh no man to chide ne to fighte,
But all is buxomness there and bokes to rede and to lerne.'

[1] Creighton, *Historical Lectures and Addresses*, 14.

To the men of low estate the Church was their only efficient protector. In dealing with the bulk of the peasantry, and to some extent with the townfolk also, might was right, and the power of the strongest was tempered only by custom. When king or lord oppressed them, if they could not plead custom in their favour, and sometimes if they could, they were bound to submit; the Church alone could help them. While to the man of learning and influence it opened a wide field for ambition, to the poor man of intellect it was the only refuge, the only home, in which he could hope to pursue his study unmolested and to reap some reward of his labour. Eight at least of our own Archbishops of Canterbury, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were of humble parentage.[1] The Church was open to all alike; any man of free birth could become a clerk; and there are numberless instances in which serfs paid fine to their lords for permission to send their sons to school in order that they might be admitted to the ranks of the clergy. Once admitted all were theoretically equal; and although in Germany the higher posts in the Church were closed against all who were not of noble birth, although in England there was a prejudice against cobblers' brats becoming priests and bishops—

> 'For shold no Clerk be crouned bote yf he ycome were
> Of franklens and free men and of folke yweddede,'

says Langland, still there was a wide field practically open to merit and ability. The highest offices and dignities of the Church were open to all the sacred orders, to every Christian clerk alike. Pope Gregory the Seventh was the son of a carpenter, Benedict the Twelfth of a baker, Nicholas the Fifth of a poor doctor, Celestine the Fifth of a peasant, Urban the Fourth and John the Twenty-second of cobblers, Benedict the Eleventh of a shepherd, and Alexander the Fifth and Adrian the Fourth were beggars.[2] In those iron ages, when brutal force was everything, it was surely much, as M. Sabatier has said,[3] that the Church could point to peasants and workmen receiving the humble homage of the lords of the earth, simply because they were seated on the chair of Saint Peter and represented the moral law. More-

[1] Cutts, *Parish Priests*, 33. [2] Lea, i. 3. [3] Sabatier, 39.

over, the influence of the Church over all Christian souls was very thorough, very impressive, very far-reaching. In those days, when in matters of faith all were of one belief, when in matters of ceremony all were of one observance, the Church breathed a spirit of common brotherhood which it is well-nigh impossible for us nowadays to comprehend. We have no horror of schism; we live amid a thousand jarring sects; religious and political strife and variety are to us as the breath of our nostrils; but in the Middle Ages it was not so, neither in politics nor in religion. The men of to-day, therefore, find it difficult to sympathise with those who lived then; 'they cannot understand the fascination which the idea of one all-embracing, all-pervading church exercised upon their mediæval forefathers. A life in the church, for the church, through the church; a life which she blessed in Mass at morning and sent to peaceful rest by the vesper hymn; a life which she supported by the constantly recurring stimulus of the sacraments, relieving it by confession, purifying it by penance, admonishing it by the presentation of visible objects for contemplation and worship—this was the life which they of the Middle Ages conceived of as the rightful life for man; it was the actual life of many, the ideal of all.'[1] Thus, in the days of its greatest splendour and glory, the influence of the Holy Roman Church was beneficent, and was felt by all to be so; 'it represented what people wanted. There never was a power which could claim more entirely to rest upon public opinion than could the papal power at its best.'[2]

But toward the end of the fourteenth century the papal power was no longer at its best. It had formerly been a purely spiritual power, enforcing its decrees by spiritual sanctions alone; but since the beginning of the thirteenth century it had altered its position, and had become a temporal power also, having acquired the States of the Church. The two great world-powers, the Empire and the Papacy, had very little force of their own to back up and carry out their decrees. They were dependent on public opinion, on the might of others. The Emperor might issue his ban, the Pope might issue his interdict, but the carrying into effect of

[1] Bryce, 417.

[2] Creighton, *op. cit.* 117.

these punishments depended on the will of the subordinate powers on the spot. The might of the Empire rested on the goodwill and obedience of its dignitaries, just as the might of the Papacy rested on the goodwill and obedience of the countries of Christendom. In proportion as the obedience of its subordinates became more precarious, so each world-power came to feel the need for some more constant and trustworthy support; each Emperor, Salian or Swabian, Habsburg or Luxemburg, tried to fashion for his family some secure territorial basis on which its permanent power might be indefeasibly grounded. Just in the same way, and for the same reason, did the Popes seek to secure territorial sovereignty by the acquisition of the States of the Church. This, however, necessarily brought the Papacy down to a lower moral level: a Pope fighting for his own territorial sovereignty or aggrandisement was a different matter, and no longer appealed to the imagination and sympathy of mankind as did a Pope fighting for the higher policy, the liberal ideas, the moral aims of the Church.[1] In other respects it may have been a matter of comparatively small moment at the end of the fourteenth century that the Papacy had become a temporal power, although later, in the sixteenth century, in the storm and stress of the Reformation, it was the possession of the Papal States which probably saved the Papacy from being reduced once again to its original condition of a mere Italian bishopric. For good and for ill the Papacy had taken rank among the temporal powers of Europe, and had its temporal as well as its spiritual aims to pursue.

While it had thus become a temporal power, the Church had already become the greatest landowner in Christendom. Religion, which had at first been a question of morals and had then been a question of orthodoxy, had, from the seventh century onwards, become in the main a matter of munificence to convents. The early Kings of England, the Merovingians and the Carlovingians in France, the Saxon Emperors in Germany, the Kings of Leon, had all been prodigal in their gifts of land; the abbeys had profited even more than the cathedrals. Men believed in Hell in those

[1] Creighton, i. 25.

days, in a Hell where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched; and many a dying man was ready to secure a better chance after death, many a widow was ready to improve the fate of her husband, by diverting part of his worldly wealth into the coffers of the Church. Purgatory was the lot of all true believers, and the fires of Purgatory, necessary though they might be, were as bad as the fires of Hell. But the pains of the dead could be shortened by the prayers and good works of the living; hence 'in all monasteries, whenever any one belonging to it died, the death-knell was rung, and though it were the depth of night, no sooner had they heard that well-known bell swinging forth slowly and sadly its mournful sounds, than all the inmates of that house arose and knelt down by their bedsides, or hurried to the Church, and prayed for the soul of the brother or sister that moment gone.'[1] Kings founded monasteries for their ghostly weal; cathedrals and parish churches pledged themselves that a certain number of Psalms should be sung and a certain number of Masses be said; chantries were endowed in perpetuity or for a limited period for the offering up of the Mass after the founder's death. Indeed, so universal did the practice become of leaving a part of one's goods to the Church, that mere intestacy was regarded by the clergy as a fraud, and the Bishop of Lisbon and his subordinates in the days of Saint Francis actually refused to perform the funeral services for any one who had not left one-third of his wealth to the Church.[2]

But for the fiefs which abbeys paid to their lay advocates for protection, and but for the rapacious spoliations to which they were subject at the hands of brutal and unprincipled warriors, it seemed as if the Church would gradually engulf all the lands of the kingdoms of Europe. As it was, the proportion of lands held by the Church was in some countries more than one-half, and in all not less than one-third. The end of the twelfth century was the time of most profuse liberality; after that, as the mendicant friars rose in favour and the monks gradually lost their popularity, the tide of generosity fell lower and lower; but at the close of the fourteenth

[1] Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, ii. 244.

[2] Sabatier, 313.

century the Church was still the greatest landowner in every country of Christendom. The wealth of the Church in Germany was conspicuously great. In 1111, King Henry the Fifth had proposed to the Pope to end the strife about investitures by taking from the German prelates their landed estates, and leaving them only their tithes and offerings;[1] Paschal the Second had consented; but the German clergy, through their primate the Archbishop of Salzburg, declared that anything was preferable to seeing the Church thus spoiled of her inheritance. The proposal therefore came to naught; the prelates still continued to be feudal lords. The three great Archbishops of the Rhine not only thus held their vast estates, but were ever on the lookout to add to their strength; their position as Electors of the Empire enabled them at the time of elections to drive unconscionable bargains with the candidates for Empire. Perhaps the hardest bargains of all were those which the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz made with Adolf of Nassau and his two successors. The Bishops also, almost universally throughout the Empire, donned coat of mail as readily as cassock; they were ever ready to enlarge their sees, their privileges, their immunities. The position of an exalted ecclesiastic was eagerly sought for by the German nobles; and it was part of the policy of successive Emperors to prevent two of the great archbishoprics being held by members of the same noble family. They were not always able to hinder such an accumulation of influence in the hands of a single house: when Kuno of Falkenstein was Archbishop of Trier in the days of King Wenzel, his nephew, Frederic, was Archbishop of Cologne. The German prelates again, unlike those of England and France, when once they were in secure possession of their sees, frequently wavered in their allegiance to their feudal lord paramount; while their obedience to their spiritual father, the Pope, was equally precarious and uncertain. Innocent the Sixth failed to procure any pecuniary assistance for his wars in Italy from the three Archbishops of the Rhine or from the Archbishop of Salzburg.[2] When Pope Boniface the Ninth granted two-tenths to King Rupert, he found it impossible to levy the

[1] Hoefler, 4.

[2] Lindner (*H. and L.*), ii. 58.

tax. And the clergy of Germany were often as refractory to their bishops as were the bishops to the Pope.

Before noticing the state of the Church at the end of the fourteenth century, it will be well to form some idea of its extent, and of the principal points in which it differed from the Church of the present day. In extent, taking the term in its widest signification, the Church coincided with the Empire: it embraced the whole body of the faithful, the whole Christian world considered on its spiritual side. Taken in its narrower sense, as including the pastors and not the people, the Church still embraced the whole body of clerks or clergy, practically the whole of the population which earned its bread by its brains rather than by the sweat of its brow; the whole body, with some exceptions, and those chiefly in Italy, of what we now call the learned professions. 'In the North of Europe,' writes Mr. Rashdall,[1] 'the Church was simply a synonym for the professions. Nearly all the civil servants of the Crown, the diplomatists, the secretaries or advisers of great nobles, the architects, at one time the secular lawyers, all through the Middle Ages the then large tribe of ecclesiastical lawyers, were ecclesiastics.' The distinction meant much, for it corresponded to a cleavage in jurisdiction. Every clerk was personally outside the jurisdiction of the secular courts. In every country of Christendom alongside the secular courts were the courts spiritual. The jurisdiction of these courts extended to the persons of all clerks, to every one who wore a tonsure; it extended also to all spiritual causes, not only to those strictly concerned with matters of faith and discipline, but also to all cases in any way connected with marriage, with church property, with wills, or with perjury; it extended also to crimes against religion, to crimes committed in holy places, to violations of the edicts against taking interest, and to breaches of the Truce or Peace of God. The spiritual courts were far more popular than the secular courts; the judges were more learned, the procedure was more reasonable, justice more easily obtainable, and the punishments milder; consequently contracts were made binding by oath in order that their non-

[1] Rashdall, ii. 696.

observance might be treated as a case of perjury, and laymen got barbers to give them the 'clerks' crown' in the hope of coming within the jurisdiction of the spiritual rather than of the secular court. The canon law was everywhere the personal law of the clerk, and it had the advantage of being accompanied by a procedure simpler, milder, and more rational. Whether there was or was not much to choose between the substantive law of the systems, the adjective law of the one was civilised, while that of the other was semi-barbarous. 'We have to take ourselves back to a state of society in which a judicial trial was a tournament and the ordeal an approved substitute for evidence, to realise what civilization owes to the Canon Law and their Canonists with their elaborate system of written law, their judicial evidence, and their written procedure.'[1] In those days, as in the civil courts now, a man could not get justice without paying for it; and the battle between the rival jurisdictions was to some extent a battle for fees and fines. Perhaps the most important point in the great share which the Church then took in the purely judicial work of a country was that the ultimate appeal in all spiritual causes lay to the Pope.

'Religious life in the Middle Ages,' writes M. Jusserand,[2] 'had not the definite visible boundaries which we see to-day; now a man either belongs to the Church or he does not; but there was nothing so sharply cut then. Religious life stretched across society like an immense river without banks, with numberless affluents, with underground streams, impregnating the soil even where it did not wash it.' 'In the Middle Ages,' writes Mr. Trevelyan,[3] 'the Church administered whole sides of life which have since been put into the hands of the secular government or left to the discretion of the individual.' It was necessarily so when all the educated classes of the country other than those engaged in war, in commerce and industry, were practically confined to the ranks of the clergy. Wherever the services of an educated man were required, a clerk must be taken. The clergy were in

[1] Rashdall, i. 143.
[2] *L'Épopée Mystique*, 86.
[3] *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, 104.

request in business houses as clerks and scriveners, and on estates as stewards and accountants. The household of a great noble, like John of Gaunt, included scores of their number: his chancellor was the Bishop of Salisbury, his chief physician was Appleton, a Franciscan Friar. There were numbers of clerks everywhere in the royal service—

> 'Bischopes and bachelers bothe maistres and doctours, . . .
> Some seruen the Kyng and his silver tellen,
> In cheker and in chancerye chalengen his dettes . . .
> And some seruen as seruants lordes and laydes,
> And in stede of stuwardes sytten and demen.'

The Roman Catholic religion has always maintained a close hold on the everyday life of its people; but in the Middle Ages, when the proportionate number of the clergy was so very much greater, there was necessarily much more intimate friendship and intercourse between the lower ranks of the clergy and the mass of the people than is possible now. Church festivals, and the village rejoicings connected with them, were more numerous; some of those which were then of most significance, such as the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th September), have now lost their first importance. In the Middle Ages a religious feast was above all else a representation, more or less faithful, of some Bible story or some saintly legend;[1] others were of half-pagan, half-religious origin; but into them all the sub-deacons and deacons entered with boyish glee. Numerous are the instances in which they are reproved by their bishop or even by the Pope for leading the van in some such ceremony which tended to throw discredit on the Church, but which was dear to the souls of the people and to the ranks of the lower clergy. A short reference to some of those feasts which have now fallen more or less into disuse will not be out of place.

[1] 'Pour le moyen âge, une fête religieuse était avant tout une représentation, plus ou moins fidèle, du souvenir qu'elle rappelait: de là les santons de la Provence, les processions du Palmesel, les cénacles du Jeudi saint, les chemins de croix du Vendredi saint, le drame de la Résurrection le jour de Pâques, et les étoupes enflammées de la Pentecôte.'—Sabatier, 327.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, when the peasantry everywhere were prosperous, there was much jollity and happiness in their lives, so long as the piping days of peace were on, for all religiously took part, and the children often took a special part of their own, in the round of festivals which marked the course of the year. Some of these merry observances have altogether disappeared, others have fallen more or less into disuse and forgetfulness. The 'Liberty of December' was in France and other countries a time of universal feasting and merriment, of dance and song. Then were held the Feast of Fools, derived from the old heathen festival of the Kalends of January; and the Feast of Asses, in which 'little brother Francis' took such innocent delight. At the Feast of Fools, songs not the most decorous were sung; men dressed up as old women, or as calves or stags, bishops and archbishops, joined in the Christmas games in the monasteries; a Pope of Fools and two cardinals were elected and endued with the sacred robes, the matins were travestied; they danced in the choir, they diced on the church-floor. This feast, which was sometimes called the Feast of the Sub-deacons, was held on the Day of the Circumcision.[1] The Feast of the Ass was originally held on Christmas Day. In this also masks predominated: Jews and Gentiles, Moses, Aaron, and the Prophets, Vergil and Nebuchadnezzar, but the most popular figure was Balaam on his Ass. Nebuchadnezzar delivered over the three children to be burned in a fire made of tow and linen in the nave of the church. Balaam was met by a young man with a drawn sword; a man under the donkey called out 'Cur me calcaribus miseram sic laeditis?' and the angel bade Balaam 'Desine Regis Balac praeceptum perficere.' In the diocese of Beauvais the feast was held on the 14th January. The finest donkey that could be found was led in procession through the town, superbly caparisoned; a young girl, richly dressed, with a child in her arms, was seated on it, to symbolise the Flight into Egypt; they were met by the clergy and conducted to the door of the church or cathedral, and

[1] Du Cange, *Glossarium Manuale*, iv. 298; La Croix, *Sciences et Lettres au Moyen Age*, 266; Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, 156.

High Mass was said with great pomp. A Latin hymn was sung to announce the object of the festival—

'To-day is the day of gladness,
Away all thoughts of sadness,
Envy and grandeur away;
We will rejoice with heart and voice
For we keep the Ass's Feast to-day.'

The donkey was then led to the high altar, having been taught to kneel at the proper place, and the precentor chanted a Latin refrain—

'Orientibus partibus,
Adventavit Asinus,
Pulcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinis aptissimus,
Hee haw! Sir Ass! Hee haw!

Hic in collibus Sichen,
Enutritus sub Ruben,
Transiit per Jordanem,
Saliit in Bethleem,
Hee haw! Sir Ass! Hee haw!'

Then the whole congregation joined in the chorus, very likely the ass himself taking up the refrain—

'Hee haw! Sir Ass! Hee haw!'

'When the ceremony was ended, the priest, instead of the usual words with which he dismissed the people, brayed three times like an ass, and the people, instead of the usual response, "We bless the Lord," brayed three times in the same manner.'[1]

The Feast of the Ass has now entirely disappeared, and of the Feast of Fools nothing but the Christmas-boxes and the holly and ivy at Yule Tide now remain. The Christmas rejoicings in German villages nowadays retain but a faint reminiscence of the time when festivities began three days before Christmas with the children going round from house to house, singing and telling the glad tidings of the coming birth of Our Lord, when the festivities continued day after day, each with its appropriate festival, over Saint Stephen's Day, over the Day of Saint John the Evangelist, until on the

[1] Du Change, *op. cit.* iii. 523; Robertson, *Charles the Fifth*, i. 205; La Croix, *op. cit.* 266; Maitland, *op. cit.* 142 *et seq.*

Day of the Holy Innocents a troop of mock devils scampered through the streets on the lookout for any pretty child or maiden. On New Year's Eve boys sang in the streets, ringing bells and making merry all through the night, and collecting much money withal; and on New Year's Day presents were given to the female members of the family and to the women servants and their children. During the twelve days between Christmas and Epiphany the houses were fumigated to scare away evil spirits, and the weather was carefully noted as prognosticating that for the coming twelve months.[1] The rejoicings peculiar to Christmas came to an end at Epiphany, when the Feast of the Three Kings was kept with great merriment throughout Germany: every house chose its king by a pfennig dropped in the honey-cake after the manner of the coins and thimbles dropped into our plum-puddings; a bean-feast was held at which every one drank his fill at the expense of the king of the feast; the school-boys carried lights to ward off misfortune of Saint Blasius's Day. Another incident peculiar to our own Christmas was then observed on Saint Nicolas's Day (December 6th), before which the children used to invoke the Saint's favour by fasting so rigorously that their parents were often afraid lest they should do themselves an injury; for it was Saint Nicolas, our own Santa Klaus, who put presents into their little shoes. On this same day, too, was selected the Boy-Bishop, who donned cope and mitre and collected his revenues until he preached his sermon and gave up his crozier at the Feast of Holy Innocents.

It was but natural that the times of chief observance should be those of Our Lord's birth and of His death and resurrection; but there were many other seasons of joy and mirth through the year. Of these the principal was the Carnival, just before Lent. Italy was then, as now, celebrated for the gorgeous pageantry of its processions; Germany was satisfied with an occasional sledge or a 'ship of fools,' but there was no end to the masking and mumming. Men dressed as women, women as men; some disguised themselves with red lead and ink as satyrs or devils; every one

[1] Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im xiv. und xv. Jahrhundert* (1892), 272 *et seq.*

sought to invent some new device; they feasted, they drank, they danced, they held long processions, they bantered the girls; they played the good old game of the Blind Men and the Pig. Twelve blind men, well primed with food and drink, were introduced, armed in old armour, with helmets awry and cudgels in their hands, into an enclosure, and a sturdy pig was let loose among them; they tried to belabour the pig, which rushed hither and thither, knocking them down and causing universal confusion; then a bell was put round its neck, and finally the porker, more tired out by heat and exertion than by the blows, was captured and killed. In some parts of Swabia on Ash Wednesday a harrow was dragged through the Danube by the young men and maidens. In Franconia the girls were yoked to a plough by their swains, and a piper drove the team into the river, to give them a salutary ducking for their levity during Carnival. At Whitsuntide in Germany the custom, observed during the Rogation Days in England, was kept up; a procession, singing the Litany, started from the church and proceeded round the fields, the priest carrying the Host in front and praying to God to ward off all danger from the crops. In England a dragon with a formidable tail was carried the first two days in front of the procession, and on the third day, without its tail, in the rear. The eve of Saint John the Baptist's Day was an occasion for bonfires, for singing and dancing; young men and maidens crowned their heads with mugwort and verbena, and carried larkspur in their hands; pines were brought from the forest and planted in the village green; the girls procured clay vessels, full of holes, filled them with rose-leaves, put a light in them, and hung them at their gables. On Corpus Christi Day there was another procession of the Host, and mummery almost amounting to a miracle-play, in which devils and saints, male and female, took part, and the streets were strewn with roses and hung with may-blossom; the whole concluding with a procession round the corn-fields, headed by the priest, who sang the gospel over the new corn. On the Day of Saint Vitus hens were offered to ward off cramps and poison; on the Day of Our Lady's Ascension, fruits and herbs to keep away sickness and plague; on Saint Martin's Day it

was the custom to eat a goose. There were special observances connected with the vintage. On Saint Urban's Day (May 25th) the growers set a table in the market-place, adorning it with leaves and sweet-smelling herbs and putting a small statue of the Pope thereon. The weather on this day was taken as a prognostic of the coming summer: if it was fine, the statue was crowned with leaves and obeisance done to it; but if it was rainy, it was bedaubed with mud and soused with water. Then, when the grapes were ready, not a husbandman thought of beginning his picking until he had been authorised by the lord of the tithe, and due provision had been made for the collection of God's tenth of the produce; the grapes then were picked, and finally the children came with their torches to cleanse the fields and burn out the old harvest. Every one was expected to taste the new wine—even the poor had their share. When the agricultural operations of the year were thus connected with religious observances, when Church festivals constantly recurring called for the participation of all the villagers, when the social and political life of the town or village centred in the Church, when there was one form of devotion for all alike, when every man attended the Church to which he belonged and was restricted to that Church, it is evident that the Church must have been much more constantly before men's minds and in their hearts, that it must have been much more intimately bound up with their daily lives, that its welfare must have formed a much more important consideration to them and have meant much more to them in the Middle Ages than it does to-day.

The Church was emphatically the Schoolmaster of the Middle Ages. During the Dark Ages, from the time of Charles the Great to the eleventh century, education was in the hands of the Benedictine monks, and every famous monastery had two schools, one claustral, for the young religious, and the other for outsiders. Then came the dawn of a brighter time. Not only every abbey, but every cathedral also, and many of the larger churches, had each its own school. The famous cloisters of France, before the rise of the University of Paris, were frequented by scholars from Germany, Denmark, Italy, and England; the University itself sprang from

the Cathedral School of Paris. The smaller schools taught only reading, writing, and a little singing ; song-schools were attached to every cathedral for the instruction of the choristers. The aim of instruction for the lower ranks of the clergy was to enable them to read the Bible and the Fathers, and to meditate thereon. But education at the larger, or Latin, schools was more ambitious ; the course, which might in these days be termed the first and the second Arts course, was then known as the Trivium and the Quadrivium. The Trivium comprised grammar, rhetoric, and logic ; the Quadrivium comprised arithmetic and astronomy, necessary to the clergy for the determination of Easter, music, 'a half-mystical doctrine of numbers and the rules of plain-song,' and geometry, 'a selection of propositions from Euclid without the demonstrations.' Grammar included the study of the classics ; under rhetoric certain treatises of Cicero were largely read ; 'but the heart and centre of the secular education of the time in Northern Europe was the study of dialectic or logic,' the science of right reasoning, which took a wide range and introduced the student to the ever-engrossing controversy between the Realists and the Nominalists. After the days of Anselm the monasteries began to close their doors to lay students, and to provide for their own people alone ; the care for education was transferred from the regular to the secular clergy, a change which was helped by the advent of the friars and by the rise of the universities ; although even in the first half of the fourteenth century every son of the soil in France, who made his way to name and fame, had received his early education at some monastic school. The cathedrals and churches took up the work which the monks, in their selfishness, were dropping ; the chancellor of a cathedral was responsible for the appointment of the schoolmaster and for the regulation of the studies. Priests were enjoined to establish schools for gratuitous instruction in the villages ; in these the children learned their catechism, reading, writing, a little arithmetic and grammar ; such schools were in England often held by chantry priests. In this way, up to the end of the thirteenth century, the education of the people, save in Italy, remained almost entirely in the hands of the clergy ; boys

were sent to school, girls were sent to a nunnery, or had private teachers. In Italy, however, although church schools existed, the old race of lay teachers never died out, even in the Dark Ages, and when the revival came, its effects were most conspicuous in the schools of the independent lay teachers. In Germany and Holland also, during the fourteenth century, lay masters established schools in many of the cities, where the demand of the merchants and artisans for education was greatest. But with such occasional exceptions the Church did the whole work of education.

If the Church was the Schoolmaster of the Middle Ages, she was, for the great majority of the population, the Physician also, although in this good work they had for rivals the Jew and Arab physicians at one end of the profession and the barber-surgeons at the other. From the fourth century onward the Church had taught and practised the art of healing: when the temples of Æsculapius, Hygeia, and Serapis were closed, Christianity opened its churches and monasteries to the sick. The monks possessed a large number of traditional recipes; they made use of medicinal herbs for wounds and bruises. The competition with the Arabs and Jews compelled them to further study; they travelled to acquire practice and knowledge; they accompanied crusades and armies as doctors. Hospitals were attached to the monasteries and large churches; hospitallers, brothers and sisters, were trained to tend the sick; a code of hygiene was formed. The Emperor Henry the Second went to the monastery of Monte Casino to be treated for stone. The eleventh century had seen a large increase in the number of hospitals and lazar-houses; it had also seen the rise of different orders devoting themselves to special diseases: the Brothers of Saint Antony applied themselves to bowel complaints and cases of dysentery; the Knights of Saint John and the Brethren of the Holy Spirit treated especially those who had fallen victims to pestilential epidemics; the Brethren of Saint Lazarus held sovereign specifics against small-pox and leprosy; the Templars tended warriors, pilgrims, and travellers suffering from ophthalmia, scurvy, or dangerous wounds. Surgeons, trained in the monastic schools, were engaged in the Low Countries, in Italy and

Germany, by the richer and larger towns for the service of charity. In France, in the thirteenth century, it was no longer necessary for a student of medicine or surgery to be a clerk; the profession was opened, and the minor surgery fell into the hands of the barber-surgeons. The barbers gradually usurped the functions which had previously been reserved to the clergy, and at the end of the fourteenth century there were three recognised orders of practitioners in France; the physicians 'of the long robe,' the surgeons 'of the short robe,' and the barbers; and the latter were allowed to wear swords, and were excused all duty on the night-watch. The medical schools of Montpellier and Paris were by this time formidable rivals of Salerno and Bologna; France and Italy were far ahead of Germany and England in medical science. John of Bohemia was so unskilfully treated that he flung his physician into the river Oder, being righteously determined that he should do no further harm to any man. Sigismund of Hungary, like Albert of Austria and Wenzel of Bohemia before him, and like another Albert of Austria his contemporary, was hung by the heels for twenty-four hours to allow poison to trickle out of him; Edward the Third of England, when a boy, was wrapped in red cloth to cure small-pox; and the court physician who treated him prescribed an ointment made of crickets, beetles, and common oil to cure the stone. Another recipe for the same complaint was to take gromel, parsley, red nettle, violets, incense, and cherry-stone kernels, to bray them together and to mix them with stale ale as a healing draught. A third method of dissolving stone was to take the white stones from the maw of a cock twelve months old, to bray them in a mortar with an iron pestle, and to mix them with wine. Some of the recipes were harmless enough, and perhaps not the less efficacious: sore throats were steamed with boiling cinquefoil water; excessive sweating was cured by binding linseed and lettuce, stamped well together, on the stomach; while a sufferer from tertian ague was directed to eat a hot barley-cake and to drink copiously of good wine when the fit was coming on, then to drink a decoction made of plantains brayed in wine and water, and to compose himself to sleep. A hare's gall in pottage would make a man

sleep for three days; southernwood brayed in wine would stop him from talking in his sleep; violet-water would cure his broken bones; centaury brayed and mixed with wine and water would cure snake-bite; while goats' claws burned to powder in a new pot and eaten with pottage were a sovereign remedy against incontinence of urine. Some of their recipes were sufficiently fanciful: barley-bread and mustard-soup eaten with sage fasting, were prescribed for palsy; aloes and opium, brayed and mixed with the milk of a woman who was suckling a man child, formed an ointment for blindness; pig's fat, hen's fat, white of an egg, and darnel meal were the ingredients for an ointment for white faces; and any one who had red eyes was recommended to take a large red snail, to prick his back all over and rub salt in, to catch the liquor which exuded, and to use it as a salve. Those who suffered from worms were instructed to make a candle of virgin wax, with which henbane, wild celery, and pimpernel had been mixed, to light the candle and hold it in the mouth until the teeth got hot, when the worms would surely drop out. A costive man had a parlous time: mallows and mercury were seethed under a gobbet of pork, and he was required to eat the pottage made thereof, and to drink therewith white wine or whey, 'and he shall be soluble.'[1] The foregoing examples give some idea of the state of medical science and skill in England at this time. Chaucer's Doctour of Physick, 'a very parfit practisour,' clad in sangwin and in pers, worked by the rules of natural magic and astrology. It was to the careful tending and patient nursing that they bestowed, to the hygienic treatment and simple drugs and herbs which they used, that the monks owed most of their success in the science of medicine.

Thus far we have noticed the Church of the Middle Ages only in some of its wider aspects; we have seen how largely it bulked on the horizon, how intimately it was connected in various ways with the life and welfare of the people. But we have not yet considered the different orders, secular and regular, of which it was composed, nor the abuses which had gradually risen in its midst, impairing its efficiency, and

[1] Henslow, *Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century, passim.*

arousing a widespread feeling of unrest in the minds of its most earnest followers. They recognised that the clergy were the salt of the earth; but if the salt were to lose its savour, wherewith should the world be salted?

### (2) Seculars and Regulars

We have glanced at the position of the Holy Roman Empire at the commencement of the Great Schism of the West; we have now to consider the state of the secular and regular orders in the Holy Roman Church at the same time.

The most glorious years of the Papacy extended, as has been said, from the days of Hildebrand to the pontificate of Innocent the Third. These mighty pontiffs endeavoured to establish the Church in the beauty of holiness, to make it a guide and exemplar to all, a centre of purity bringing peace and healing on its wings; they sought to bring all the kingdoms of the world in subjection to themselves in order thereby to induce a universal reign of holiness. But they had aimed too high; they had not made sufficient allowance for the frailty of human nature. They were able almost everywhere to enforce a nominal rule of celibacy on the clergy, but they were unable to procure their chastity; it was celibacy tempered with concubinage; it was a common thing for the priest to pay to his bishop the tribute known as *cullagium* to be allowed to keep his concubine in peace.[1] The Pope was rightly the supreme judge in matters of faith and doctrine, but in matters of discipline they had centralised too strictly. They had rendered the bishops so subservient, that they had lost all respect and authority in their own dioceses; the abbots also would decide nothing for themselves. The veriest trifles of discipline were submitted to Innocent the Third for decision: points of grammar, the correct attitude in the choir, the refectory, the dormitory, the shape and size of a bed coverlet—all such matters the Pope willingly took upon himself to consider and decide.[2] The Popes, moreover, collated to all the more important benefices, and decided all cases of contested elections. Finally, when Innocent acquired the States of the Church,

[1] Lea, i. 21.

[2] Rocquain, 169.

the work of practical government also fell to be executed; but this very acquisition, while it marked the summit of Papal influence, marked also the commencement of its decline. A firm territorial basis might be advantageous or even necessary for the Papacy; but a Pope fighting for his temporal possessions no longer appealed to men's sympathies as he did when, in the days of feudal oppression, he had fought for his purely spiritual dignity and importance.

The thirteenth century, from the days of Innocent the Third to those of Boniface the Eighth, has been styled the noonday of papal dominion, the century during which Rome inspired all the terror of her ancient name, during which she was once more mistress of the world and kings were her vassals.[1] It was in many ways the most wonderful time since the birth of Christ: the world had renewed its youth; there was a renaissance of learning and intellect which has made many wonder why the Protestant Reformation did not come three hundred years earlier than it actually did.[2] It was an epoch of 'great sovereigns, great statesmen, great lawyers, great men of science, great philosophers and divines, great architects, great poets and painters.'[3] It was a century marked by a decline in the spiritual efficacy, but by an increase in the temporal pretensions of the Papacy; never had any Pope set these so high as did Benedict Gaetani when he became Pope Boniface the Eighth. But the glorious promise of the thirteenth century was not fulfilled; the renaissance came to naught; no summer followed the wonderful spring; instead thereof, a winter of corruption and decay set in. 'Persecution, bribery (in the shape of patronage), the natural tendency of any unusual stimulation of intellectual activity to wear itself out, and above all the genius of the great orthodox Schoolmen, prevailed.' It was the theological dictatorship of the cosmopolitan University of Paris which more than all else blasted the fair prospects of the twelfth-century illumination, though at the same time it saved Northern France from the ravages of the Holy Inquisition.[4] The University of Paris aspired to a theological dictatorship, and

[1] Hallam, ii. 202.
[2] Renan, 301.
[3] Lightfoot's *Essays*, 94.
[4] Rashdall, i. 526.

hence ran counter to the Popes. For the Popes were not theologians; they were canon lawyers; they had all the lawyer's desire to stand on the ancient ways, they had all the lawyer's dislike for radical reform. Clement the Fifth openly professed his contempt for the theologians of Paris. Jean Gerson, on the other hand, who tried to arrogate to the Theological Faculty the control of negotiations during the Great Schism, was never tired of reiterating that the Canon Law must give way, when occasion demanded, to the Divine Law and the welfare of Holy Church. From their education and training the influence of the Popes was averse from all radical reform of the Church and its members. The close of the thirteenth century was marked by a fearful catastrophe for the Church. The Popes had come victorious out of their strife with the Hohenstaufen; they were worsted in their strife with France. Boniface fell before Philip; he died very shortly after the sacrilegious outrage at Agnani.

An immense change was marked by the transfer of the Papacy to Avignon. It wrought woe in many ways. It wrought woe to the Papacy itself, inasmuch as it deprived the Pope of the consideration and respect which he had hitherto enjoyed as the impartial, international arbitrator, the supreme head of Christendom, the common Father of all nations. It wrought woe to both England and France, inasmuch as it rendered futile all the efforts of Benedict the Twelfth to avert the Hundred Years' War, a conflict which wasted the resources though it increased the glory of England, which brought incalculable desolation and misery on the fair realm of France. It wrought woe to Germany, inasmuch as there ensued the long strife between Louis of Bavaria and the Popes, which brought with it the revolt of the Franciscan Friars and the consequent alienation of much of the German peasantry. It wrought woe also to Italy, which lapsed into anarchy as soon as the Pope had departed from Rome,—the city fell into ruins, and cattle grazed at the foot of the altars in St. Peter's and the Vatican. It saw the rise of the Tribune Rienzi, 'the tragic actor in the tattered purple of antiquity';[1] the state of the

[1] Gregorovius, vi. 374.

peninsula grew worse and worse, until Florence and Bologna threw off their allegiance and declared war on the Papacy, a war which was aggravated and stained by the bloody massacre of Cesena under the orders of Cardinal Robert of Geneva. Finally the Captivity rendered possible and probable the Great Schism, which went far toward completing the baleful work which the residence in the 'sinful city of Avenon' had begun.

The transfer of the Papacy, moreover, initiated a period of social decadence and gloom, during which the corruption of morals everywhere made frightful progress. Through all Europe save Italy, says Renan,[1] the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were a stagnant time, during which thought existed no longer, literature was dead, art was dying, and poetry was mute. The description, though overcharged, is true in the main outlines. Corruption seized on the body ecclesiastic and spread through every part, from the head downward. Simony was openly practised, and was excused in Rome on the ground that everything belonged to the Pope, who was only dealing with his own. Spiritual offices everywhere were sold and bartered, for gold, for love, for gaming; the Pope's palace was a nest of money-changers and usurers. Men's hearts failed them for the sins which they saw in high places. Among the masses of the people superstition and ignorance prevailed; every one believed in omens and portents, in ghosts and demons, in magic, sorcery, and witchcraft.[2] Signs and wonders were of daily occurrence. Sacred pictures exhibited signs of life; drops of sacramental wine, Christ's blood, worked marvels of healing; relics were purchased, even by hard-headed mercantile men like the Venetians, for fabulous sums, and were feared and venerated as if they were talismans; confession was equivalent to incantation; the Devil intervened actively in everyday life; the sheeted dead sighed plaintively at night along the streets when danger impended in the city. Rustics held their Feast of Fools in churches and cathedrals; in Italy food was every year set out for the dead during the four days before the Feast of the Chair of Saint Peter; in England the villagers peeped in from the churchyard on Sundays to catch sight of the priest waving the Host, and ran home delighted, exclaiming that they had

[1] Renan, 300. [2] Burckhardt, 508.

said their Mass, that they had seen their Lord; while those who partook of the Holy Communion saved bits of wafer to rub their sick cattle withal, or watered their cabbages with the crumbs to keep off caterpillars. Of miracles there were enough and to spare; a temporary lack was set down to want of piety, for sorry monks worked no wonders.[1] There was everywhere gross spiritual neglect; parish priests were admonished to teach their flocks once every three months all the cardinal points of the Christian doctrine, but teaching was scanty, and preaching, practically confined to the bishops, was scantier still.

The temporal possessions and political wars of the Pope had introduced, had indeed almost necessitated, the sale of offices. Money was wanted; and the Peter's Pence contributed by the northern nations of Europe, and the tribute paid by the States of the Church and occasionally by other countries, such as England and Portugal, were utterly insufficient to provide the needful sums. The expense to which the Pope was put for an establishment was enormous. In addition to the determination of points of doctrine and discipline, to the granting of dispensations, to the confirmations and collations to benefices, to the manifold external relations with foreign courts, there came an immense mass of work to the Pope as to the spiritual court of ultimate appeal. This facility of appeal had been made matter of reproach by Hildebert of Tours and by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux,[2] but it had continued and increased; and in the time of Gregory the Twelfth cases came in for settlement at the rate of two thousand a week.[3] The huge amount of work with which the Pope had to contend was far greater than that which came before any other chancery in Christendom. Whenever an order on any of these matters was given, a minute had to be made, a Bull or other formal order engrossed, and an office copy of it transcribed. It necessarily followed that the Pope had to maintain an enormous staff of clerks and other officials in the Curia, in addition to the officers of his own household, and this implied the need for a correspondingly large revenue.

But while the expenses of the Curia were very large, its

[1] Thierry, *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*, i. 21.
[2] *Hist. Gen.* ii. 283. [3] Wylie, iii. 18.

revenue was fluctuating and precarious. Peter's Pence and tribute have already been mentioned. When a crusade was on foot, a tenth was levied on the clergy; and the same tax was imposed on other occasions resembling a war against the unbeliever; and although the proceeds were supposed to be devoted to the crusade, for the help of those warriors who could not pay their own way, it was commonly believed that a certain part of the money never got beyond the papal treasury; there were all the expenses and the inevitable peculation involved in the collecting. Then again the Pope claimed, though he was not always successful in appropriating, the revenues of all vacant benefices; and benefices might be vacated by transfer as well as by death; the revenues might, on the other hand, be annexed by the sovereign. The most considerable source of revenue after this was the first-fruits, or annates, levied on the confirmation of an appointment to a benefice, whether vacated by death or by transfer; the Pope was entitled to the first year's income from all dignities and benefices in his gift, and frequently a vacancy was accompanied by three or four transfers, each bringing in its crop of first-fruits. Letters of reversion and expectancies also produced a goodly revenue; and to these were added the tithes from the clergy and the offerings of the faithful.[1] Pope John the Twenty-second drew up a regular tariff for collation to different benefices: three thousand gulden were charged for the Bishopric of Munster, thirty thousand for the archiepiscopal pallium of Mainz, twenty thousand for that of Trier, and the like.[2] Absolution for a city, taking off the interdict, reconsecrating the cemetery, cost forty, fifty, or sixty gulden.[3] Every appointment, however humble, was sold. By these means John, being a careful and thrifty man, one naturally opposed to any such doctrine as that of Apostolic Poverty, managed to amass the enormous sum of twenty-five millions of gold florins, which his successor, Benedict the Twelfth, another careful and thrifty Pope, managed to double;[4] the entire sum was most royally squandered by Benedict's successor, Clement the Sixth. The Popes after John the Twenty-

[1] Riezler, 5.
[2] Ullmann, i. 180.
[3] Riezler, 80.
[4] Lindner (*H. and P.*), i. 458.

second usually adopted the simpler plan of taking all they could get, preferring a higher bid to the lower. Archbishop William of Cologne paid Clement the Sixth seventy thousand florins; Archbishop Friedrich paid Urban the Fifth one hundred and twenty thousand florins; the Archbishopric of Mainz cost John of Nassau fifty thousand; and other German prelates paid more than twice that sum.[1] England was esteemed a veritable gold-mine, and Englishmen had to pay accordingly. De Grey paid ten thousand pounds for the Archbishopric of York, and others the like or even larger sums; his bishopric cost Robert de Orford fifteen thousand pounds. Every new prelate was bound to start within a month of election on his journey to Rome for collation; he frequently returned crippled for years by his debt to the Lombards or the Jews.[2] Pope Clement the Sixth, while his favourite the Countess of Turenne dispensed places and preferments for a price, while he himself provided for his nephews and his court by imposing taxes which irritated Teutons and Italians alike, laughed, and said that none of his predecessors had known how to be Popes.[3] At the same time, he was careful to keep in touch with the royal courts; he told his cardinal that if the King of England wanted to give a bishopric to an ass, he must be humoured; and in 1349 a donkey did make its way into the consistory with a petition round its neck that he, too, might be made a bishop. The Popes also exacted more direct patronage than formerly. In 1226 two prebends in each cathedral were demanded. In 1265 the Pope claimed to deal directly with all vacancies occurring in benefices while the holders were in Rome; and as all bishops came to Rome for collation, and many prelates of high degree came there to push their litigation, the number of death vacancies thus arising was not small. When a bishop was translated or made cardinal, the Pope dealt directly with the vacancy thus caused, for he alone could loose the tie which bound a bishop to his see. In the fourteenth century the right of direct nomination of bishops was claimed, and the system of reservation and provision was extended to the episcopate. Many Italians were thus pro-

[1] Lindner (*H. and P.*), ii. 48, 88, 330, 355. [2] Capes, 223. [3] Pastor, i. 91.

vided with livings both in England and in France; and they were usually non-residents and pluralists. At the beginning of the Great Schism, Clement the Seventh leagued himself with the Duke of Anjou to spoil the Gallican Church: he doubled the tithes; he reserved the collation of all benefices; his collectors seized the personal property and the cash left by deceased bishops and abbés; benefices were put up for sale to the highest bidder. It is no wonder that churches became deserted, that clerks were reduced to beggary, that the revenues of colleges and hospitals were plundered, that scholars were dispersed, that the University of Paris saw her children abandoning her maternal breast, which had no longer the wherewithal to nourish them.[1] At Rome corruption reached its climax under Pope Boniface the Ninth. Simony, forbidden to others, was rampant at Rome itself; everything could be bought at the papal court for money, and without money no justice or redress was to be had; full many a devout ecclesiastic re-echoed the words of Grosseteste: 'Ah! money, money, how infinite is thy power, most of all in the court of Rome!' The Commons of England complained that no king in Christendom had one-fourth of the revenue that went from England alone to the Pope.[2]

Bad as was the reputation of the Curia for simony, the moral repute of the Pope's court was not much better. The majority of the Popes at Avignon were indeed themselves men of pure livelihood; but the court of Clement the Sixth became renowned for its voluptuousness and sensual luxury, and the 'sinful city of Avenon' became a byword in Europe. The ladies, the sisters and nieces of great prelates, held their courts of the '*gaie science*'; their salons were the recognised avenues of promotion. Those who wanted rich benefices in the time of Clement the Fifth laid their petitions on the white bosom of the beautiful Brunisand de Foix; in the time of Innocent the Sixth they paid their court to Enemonde de Bourbon. Great churchmen might be celibate, but many of them were not chaste, and female honour was a thing of little worth in their eyes. When Butillo, in the time of his uncle, Urban the Sixth, broke into a convent and ravished a

[1] Martin, v. 349.

[2] Capes, 100.

beautiful high-born nun, the Pope excused his nephew, who was more than forty years old, by ascribing his sin to the fire of youth; and when the nephew of Gérard de Puy, Cardinal Legate at Perugia, committed the like offence against a noble lady, whereby she in her haste to avoid his brutality slipped, fell from her window, and died, the Cardinal placidly inquired of the enraged Perugians whether they thought that all the French were eunuchs![1]

The papal court, instead of being a model of virtue for mankind, was under too many of the Popes a hotbed of vice. The riotous licence of the younger cardinals, says Petrarch, was matched by the senile debauchery of their elders.[2] Every one has read the story of the Jew Abraham, who visited the papal court. He 'began circumspectly to acquaint himself with the ways of the Pope and the cardinals and the other prelates and all the courtiers; and from what he saw for himself, being a man of great intelligence, or learned from others, he discovered that without distinction of rank they were all sunk in the most disgraceful lewdness, sinning not only in the way of nature, but after the manner of the men of Sodom, without any restraint of remorse or shame, in such sort that, when any great favour was to be procured, the influence of the courtesans and boys was of no small moment. Moreover, he found one and all gluttonous, wine-bibbers, and next after lewdness most addicted to the shameful service of the belly, like brute beasts.'[3] Saint Catherine of Siena, as will be seen later on, is as scathing in her denunciation as is Boccaccio in the *Decameron*.

The cardinals, says Nicolas de Clamanges, look down upon primates and patriarchs; they make themselves the equals of kings. They were judged very unfavourably, however, by the outside world;[4] they stank in the nostrils of Christendom for their avarice and corruption. Henry of Hesse, vice-chancellor of the University of Paris, censured in scathing terms their simony, pomp, and libertinage. They were of all clerks the most noted pluralists. 'Not two or three, nor ten or twenty, but one or two hundred benefices,

[1] Sismondi (*I. R.*), iv. 412; v. 38.
[2] Gardner, 28.
[3] *Decameron*, i. 36.
[4] Linder (*H. and L.*), i. 457.

sometimes even four or five hundred, do they accumulate,' says Nicolas de Clamanges,[1] 'and these, too, not mean or small ones, but the best and fattest.' The Popes heaped on them pluralities with unstinted hand, so that 'in 1385 Charles the Sixth of France asserted in an ordinance that the cardinals had absorbed all the preferments in the kingdom —benefices, abbeys, orphanages, hospitals, etc.—exacting revenue to the utmost and leaving the institutions disabled and the fabric to fall into ruin.'[2] The Doctor already quoted makes the same charge against them—nothing could equal their overbearing pride and arrogance, but their private lives were a scandal: 'I pass over their simoniacal interviews with the Pope, I pass over their venal patronage, I pass over the most disgraceful and damnable corruptions and promotions almost entirely due to them; I pass over the pay and rewards they received from temporal powers for abetting them in church matters wrongfully. Nor will I mention the adulteries, the lewdness, the fornications with which they now defile the Roman curia.' Their usury and trading and many other more grievous sins are omitted by this dutiful son of the Church. Pope Urban the Sixth had some grounds for his public reproach; he preached in open consistory on the text, 'I am the Good Shepherd,' and descanted on the manifold failings of the lord cardinals. It is small wonder that they took it ill; the truth was a bitter pill to swallow, and in this instance this bit of bitter truth had its effect in producing the Great Schism.[3] When they were sent abroad on affairs of State, they lived on the country to which they were deputed at the rate of a hundred golden gulden a day;[4] and when complimentary visits were paid to them at the papal court, it was useless for the visitor to come empty-handed. William Langland spoke but the common conviction when he declared that

> 'The country is the curseder that cardinals come in,
> And where they lie and linger most, lechery there reigneth.'

Nicolas de Clamanges is no less severe in his strictures on the French bishops: 'there are many of them,' he says,

[1] Gratius, ii. 559.
[2] Martene, i., 1613, 4.
[3] *De Schismate*, 17.
[4] Lindner (*H. and L.*), i. 443.

'who have never visited their dioceses, who have never seen the faces nor heard the voices nor felt the wounds of their flocks: luxury, pomp, and avarice are the three Harpies who rule their lives. The bishops delight in wine, banquet, and games; in lofty houses and wide palaces; in heaping up money; they are given up to drinking, fornication, and gambling; they spend their days in hunting, fishing, and tennis; their nights in feasting, dancing, and debauchery.'[1] The German bishops were on their part 'wolves and hirelings,' elected for the sake of their birth and breeding by worldly chapters who drove hard bargains with them; their sees were liable to be taxed both by the temporal and the spiritual powers; the elections were all subject to the Pope's confirmation, the donation of the regalia by the civil power being but an empty form.

The bishops were the connecting link between the generalissimo and the rank and file of the Church, though some of the bishoprics were of so wide an extent—that of Utrecht, for example, which covered the whole of Holland—that it was impossible for the bishop to become acquainted with the whole of his diocese or the whole of his parish clergy. Nor did they attempt the task, for, as a general rule, they were absorbed in the temporal interests of their sees. They were the spiritual landed nobility, corresponding to the dukes, earls, and counts among the lay nobles. They were almost invariably warriors and statesmen rather than mere ecclesiastics. 'The idea of making a man a bishop or an archdeacon on account of his zeal, his energy, his success in the humble round of parochial duty, is one which would hardly have occurred to sensible men in mediæval times.' Since land alone gave social distinction, the wide possessions of the Church were coveted by German princes and nobles as a welcome means of procuring riches and honour for the younger sons of their families. As early as 1139 Pope Innocent the Second applied the feudal system to the Church by declaring at the Lateran Council that all ecclesiastical dignities were received and held of the Popes like fiefs;[2] and like fiefs, church dignities were too often conferred as a

[1] Gratius, ii. 562.

[2] Lea, i. 6.

reward for past services without thought of the attendant duties. Bishops and abbots were, above all else, the spiritual lords and princes of the Empire; pious men might occasionally be inducted, but the possession and defence of land was the leading motive in the strife after the higher church dignities.[1]

Under these circumstances simony, notwithstanding the efforts of Pope Gregory the Seventh and his successors, became almost universal. Certain of the kings of France were notorious as vendors of bishoprics, and where money was not paid, promotion commonly went by favour or relationship. The worthier bishops who occasionally appeared could do little to enforce respect for religion and morality; in those days of violence the prizes were for those whose martial prowess won respect for the rights of their churches and vassals. 'All this was in some sort a necessity of the incongruous union of feudal noble and Christian prelate, and though more marked in Germany than elsewhere, it was to be seen everywhere.'[2] The bishops of Normandy fought under Philip the Bold: the Bishop of Beauvais was captured by Richard of the Lion Heart, and his coat of mail sent to the Pope with the inquiry: 'Know now whether it be thy son's coat or not?' The same question was asked by the Marquis of Montferrat when he captured Aymon, Bishop of Vercelli. In 1265 the troops of Manfred of Sicily captured the Bishop of Verona. Such was the worldly, turbulent character of bishops generally that pious souls believed that no bishop could enter the kingdom of heaven. The good prior of Clairvaux, on being told that he was elected Bishop of Tournay, cast himself on the ground, offering to become a vagrant monk, but a bishop never. 'An ecclesiastic in Paris declared that he could believe all things except that any German bishop could be saved.'[3] Nor was the moral character of certain of the French archbishops and bishops above suspicion. Gérard de Rougemont, Archbishop of Besançon, lived in incest with the Abbess of Remiremont and other holy women; the Bishop of Toul, Maheu de Lorraine, was abandoned to debauchery, his favourite concu-

[1] Grube, 2. [2] Lea, i. 10, [3] *Ibid.* i, 13.

bine being his own daughter by a nun; Berenger was eventually removed from the archbishopric of Narbonne because of his scandalous life and character.

In England the archbishops and bishops were generally educated and capable men. There were, of course, exceptions. Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury under Edward the Second, was said to be so illiterate that he could not spell his own name aright; Lewis de Beaumont, Bishop of Durham, who for days before his consecration tried to learn the Latin formula which he had to repeat, finally stuck at one long word and said, 'Let it be taken as said,' and when he came to another troublesome phrase muttered, 'By Saint Louis, he is an ill-mannered fellow who put in that word here.'[1] In England also it was held somewhat of an anomaly for a bishop, such as Henry Despenser of Norwich, to be a man of war; but when Henry the Fourth sent to Innocent the Seventh the armour of the traitor Bishop Scrope, with the old request that he would know whether this was his son's coat or not, the Pope innocently answered, 'An evil beast hath devoured him.' The bishops generally were able men, and the chief charge brought against them was that they were the servants, not of God, but of the King. The employment of bishops in the civil administration of the State was no new system; it had been adopted in every country of Christendom for several hundreds of years, and its effects have been aptly described in its inception in words which are equally applicable to the close of the fourteenth century: 'With power and great place came in worldliness and corruption in increasing proportion as time went on, and though as statesmen these great bishops were probably not worse councillors, and often were more intelligent ones, with a natural leaning to order and peace, than the rough dukes and counts with whom they acted, yet the meaning and consciousness of their religious office became more and more lost in their secular greatness.'[2] Wyclif and other reformers who held the impracticable Utopian doctrine that the clergy should practise apostolic poverty were very severe on 'Cæsarean clergy'; they took no heed of the needs

[1] Capes, 51. [2] Church, *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*, 231.

of the kingdom. For the civil administration the king needed the services of a certain number of able, educated, and trustworthy men, and he could find many more of the class he wanted among the clergy than among the nobility. These men must be recompensed. The King lived 'of his own'; taxes were exceptional, and were levied for special purposes. The ordinary mode of recompense was by giving a man land on which he could live; and as the grant of baronies in fee-simple was out of the question, the only resource was the gift of ecclesiastical preferments, which were at best merely estates for life. This was the attitude taken by such able kings as Philip the Fair and Edward the First. In Germany, Bishops Raban of Speier, Matthew of Worms, and Conrad of Verden served King Rupert as diplomats. 'There was much to be said,' remarks the Rev. W. W. Capes,[1] 'for the King's desire to reward his ministers with ecclesiastical preferment, and to relax the rules of discipline in their behalf. Only in their order could he find the trained lawyers with the literary skill he needed for his work. His own resources were too scanty to reward them fitly.' The Chancellor and Treasurer were nearly always dignitaries of the Church. Promotion to a bishopric could easily be arranged with the Pope, and was a convenient reward for services rendered. The system was advantageous for the State, but disastrous for the Church. Many of the bishops thus became engrossed in civil pursuits; they filled important offices of State, and played a foremost part in diplomacy and politics. But their episcopal duties suffered, and the Courts Christian went by the board; these things were either left undone altogether, or were performed imperfectly by deputy; the Church was thus starved for the sake of the State. Yet there were many bishops, after the fashion of Bishop Grosseteste, who were engaged solely in their episcopal duties. Many remained at their posts and did their duty manfully during the Black Death. But their sympathies again were with the beneficed clergy rather than with the poorer parish priests, whom they were ready to suspend if they received more than six marks a year, little

[1] Capes, 42.

more than a pittance absolutely needful for a yeoman's family, while some ministers with cure of souls received less than the pay of a common soldier. The unfeeling language used by these bishops in their pastorals 'rankled in men's minds, and from this time we may note the growing sense of jarring interests and divided sympathies between the higher and the lower clergy, as in the country at large between the landowners and the peasants.'[1] Like the bishops on the Continent, the English bishops also were not ashamed to increase their incomes by the levy of a tax from priests whom they allowed to keep concubines.

In Germany the bishops were often not statesmen, much less ecclesiastics; they were warriors pure and simple, fighting to defend or to increase the lands of the Church. When the newly elected Bishop of Hildesheim inquired for the library of his predecessors, he was taken to the armoury and was shown the coats of mail and the arms hanging on the walls; these were the books, he was told, with which the rights of the diocese had been won and by which they must be maintained. Around the bishops' churches there had gradually arisen, especially during the Kaiserless time of the Empire, wealthy states with an industrial population, devoid of landed property, but naturally desirous of political position. These burghers were the natural enemies of the bishops, and with them they were constantly at war. In Worms there was strife between the bishop and the citizens: King Wenzel declared for the latter, King Rupert for the former. In Magdeburg the burghers fell upon the houses of the canons, burned two of them, drove the clergy out of the city (1402); they were brought back next year by the Count of Schwartzburg; the old archbishop, Albert of Querfurt, known for his greed, died, and the count's son, twenty-one years of age, was elected archbishop,—he never read a Mass for the next thirty-three years. In Brunswick there was war between the clergy and the burghers, and the Mendicant orders backed up the citizens. The Bishop of Halberstadt laid his city under an interdict, but he himself died in 1404, and long lay unburied since he was himself excommunicated for throttling

[1] Capes, 80.

a canon with his own hands. Bishop Gerhard of Hildesheim, successor to the bishop mentioned above, fought with and took prisoners the Duke of Brunswick, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and the Bishop of Halberstadt; he spent their ransoms in providing a golden ceiling to the tower of the Church of the Virgin Mary.[1] In Minden there were disputed elections at the end of the century; the citizens arose, turned out the clergy, and burned the chapter-house. The Bishop of Paderborn waged war against the association of knights. The Bishop of Wuerzburg seized his own chapter in their copes and hoods, imprisoned them, and held them to ransom. Bishop Brunlow quarrelled with the citizens of Stralsund because they had cut down the funeral-fees, robbed them of their cattle, and hacked the hands and feet off their workmen; the burghers retaliated by binding three priests to ladders and throwing them in the fire. The moral character of some of the bishops was often sufficiently shocking. John of Liège, like young Gunther of Schwartzburg, never got himself ordained; they were both lusty, wild warriors, who did their work by deputy. Bishop Otto, appointed by the Pope to Minden in 1404, was a man whom no one would believe on his oath, a debaucher of nuns. In Augsburg clergy and laity were alike addicted to unnatural offences; the city council visited the laity with severe punishment, but the bishops delayed to do the like with the clergy, whereupon three seculars and a Dominican were caught, stripped, bound hand and foot and placed in a cage; one was hanged, and the other three starved to death. With such scenes disgracing the whole Empire at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was little wonder that when any man inquired who was at the bottom of any new war or villainy, he was invariably told it was some bishop, provost, dean, or priest.[2] The real cause of the constant strife was that Germany was then intent on winning back from the clergy the rights and possessions which the clergy had acquired from the laity.

The archdeacon was the delegate of the bishop in judicial work; he was a veritable Mr. Worldly Wiseman, learned in

[1] Hoefler, 396. [2] *Ibid.* 382.

the law and cunning to profit thereby; it was his function to suck the marrow from the bones of all bodies committed to the spiritual charge of his lord the bishop. As soon as he obtained his post, he usually got a dispensation, and hurried off to Bologna to fit himself for his work. There he became acquainted with all the intricacies of the canon law, he fell in love with beauteous Italian ladies, he gambled and got into debt, he learned the arts of poisoning and the other faculties which went to make up the *virtu* of the average Italian churchman. When they returned from Bologna, the archdeacons began to exercise their abilities for the benefit of one at the expense of the many. In England, as in France, they hurried through their visitations, hurling excommunications right and left, claiming from every parish a fixed charge, known as the 'archdeacon's pig' or the 'larder gift.' Chaucer's Archdeacon was—

> 'a man of heigh degree,
> That boldly dide execucioun
> In punisshinge of fornicacioun,
> Of wicchecraft, and eek of bauderye,
> Of diffamacioun, and avoutrye,
> Of chirche-reves, and of testaments,
> Of contractes, and of lakke of sacraments,
> And eek of many another maner cryme
> Which nedeth nat rehercen at this tyme;
> Of usure, and of symonye also.
> But certes, lechours dide he grettest wo;
> They sholde singen, if that they were hent;
> And smale tytheres weren foule y-shent . . .
> For smale tythes and for smal offringe,
> He made the people pitously to singe.
> For er the bishop caughte hem with his hook,
> They weren in the erchedeknes book.
> Thanne hadde he, thurgh his Jurisdiccioun,
> Power to doon on hem correccioun.'

It is little wonder that pious souls, accused of giving too small tithes or offerings, should have puzzled themselves, from the time of John of Salisbury onwards, as to whether it were possible that an archdeacon could be saved.[1]

Like the archdeacons, their subordinates, the rural deans,

[1] Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, 160.

the archiprêtres of France, were accused of avarice and rapacity; the Bishop of Exeter complained, moreover, that they gave their official seals to substitutes, 'men of low character, who falsified official registers and by their fraudulent acts brought the office into disrepute.'[1]

Discipline within the Church was hard to maintain, not only because of the frequent spirit of insubordination, but also because of the right of freedom of control which was too often purchased from Rome for a price. Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, drew up armed retainers in front of his cathedral to prevent the visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury; Antony de Bek, Bishop of Durham, threw into prison the notaries and clerks who served on him the citation of the Archbishop of York; a rector of Bromley sent a chaplain in full canonicals to excommunicate his own bishop for passing sentence of deprivation against him. Cathedral chapters quarrelled with their bishops, pleading ancient precedent, raising technical points of law, and appealing to King or to Pope to protect their vested rights. There was something to be said for Wyclif's contention that wealth had introduced vice into the Church, that the clergy should follow their master, Christ, 'who for our sakes became poor,' that 'it belongeth not to Christ's vicar nor to priests of Holy Church to have rents here on earth.'

Among the parish priests it is necessary to distinguish the beneficed from the unbeneficed clergy. The rectors were commonly men of good birth, enjoying the greater and the lesser tithes, and possessing comfortable houses. The parsonages usually had guest-chambers, for it was the recognised duty of the beneficed clergy to be 'given to hospitality,' and to entertain not only their own ecclesiastical superiors, who were often more dreaded than welcome, but strangers of every degree. The rector had a pewter platter and a horn drinking-cup placed for any chance guest, and gave him a bed of clean straw or perchance a flock mattress for the night. When in 1240 the Papal Legate assembled the rectors of the churches in Berkshire, one of the arguments of the rectors for refusing to contribute as the Legate desired was that their

[1] Capes, 240; Lavisse, III. ii. 359.

churches had been endowed and enriched 'with lands and revenues for the especial purpose that the rectors of them should receive guests rich as well as poor, and show hospitality to laity as well as clergy, according to their means, as the custom of the place required.'[1]

Rectors, however, were comparatively few in the land, and vicars were many. Many churches were appropriated to cathedrals, very many more to monasteries. The monks had acquired a large number of advowsons; they scamped their duties, getting as much and doing as little as possible. The Benedictines had formerly been model landlords and had restored agriculture; the Cistercians had maintained model farms and were successful sheep-breeders, but the Black Death had brought them into difficulty; they had been obliged to let their farms on 'stock and land' leases, and being in straits they paid their vicars as low as possible. 'The monks,' said Thomas Gascoigne, 'do nothing for the poor parishioners whose tithes they get, though they say they pray for them, and provide an ill-paid vicar. Not content with the tithes, they try to get the fees and offerings in the churches, refuse even to allow parish churches to have fonts, that they may force parents to bring their children to be baptized within the abbey walls.' Wyclif also was very severe on the worldly-rich bishops and abbots to whom parish churches were appropriated, and not less severe on the monks and Austin Canons who neglected their spiritual duties. 'They do not the office of curates neither in teaching nor preaching, nor giving of sacraments, nor receiving of poor men in the parish, but set an idiot for vicar or parish priest that cannot do the office of a good curate, and yet the poor parish maintains him.'[2] Nicolas de Clamanges complains that the Popes appointed parish priests who were not taken from the schools or universities, but from the plough or from the vilest callings, priests who knew no more Latin than they did Arabic, who could not tell one letter of the alphabet from another, who spent their time in indecency, debauch, gambling, and quarrels. His tutor, Pierre d'Ailly, in one of his earliest sermons, complains of the priests for the anxious

[1] Matthew Paris, i. 285.

[2] Capes, 117, 213.

thought they bestowed on their dress, on their boots, on their hair, on their rings; very many, he says, are stained with indecency from head to foot; they are gluttonous in their meals, drunken in their drink, luxurious in their unchastity, wantonly following their lusts, fond of disreputable society, frequenting taverns and keeping concubines; they hurry from the bed of fornication to the holy altar, and receive the body of Christ with those lips which have just been kissing a harlot.[1]

Saint Catharine of Siena gives a picture of the Italian priests and prelates, 'whose lives are founded in self-love, and who perform the office of devils. Avarice, lust, and pride are the masters that they serve. The table of the Cross is deserted for the sake of the tavern; the poor are left destitute, while the substance of the Church is squandered on harlots. Nay, more, the leprosy of unnatural vice, the sin from which even the devils flee in horror because of their angelical nature, has contaminated their minds and bodies. The priests celebrate Mass after a night of sin, and often their mistresses and children join the congregation; others use the Blessed Sacrament of the altar to make love-charms to seduce the little sheep of their flock, or persuade them to commit fornication under pretext of delivering them from diabolical possession.'[2] Jean Gerson is very fervent against the unnatural vices of the clergy, as also against those priests who threatened, if their concubines were taken from them, to fall on the wives and daughters of their parishioners.[3] So scandalous were their lives that in some parts of France a priest was held viler than a Jew.[4] Marsiglio of Padua complained of the parish priests as unlearned and ignorant of grammar: they were generally men of humble birth, poor, and uneducated; but the majority probably knew some Latin, for they could not have done their work otherwise. They were usually underpaid, and in Germany some abandoned their flocks and took to beggary as more lucrative. It is small wonder that the parish priest, considering his wretched lot, too often filled up his time with dice and drinking. The cure of souls was commonly regarded as a mere source of

[1] Tschackert, 12.
[2] Gardner, 361.
[3] Schwab, 690, 697.
[4] Lavisse, III. ii. 360.

income, and the temptation was strong to desert the dull parish, with its houses far asunder, and to resort to some large town, there to sing private masses or to act as chantry priests. This tendency was increased by the distress consequent on the Black Death.

'Persones and Parisch prestes playneth to heore Bischops,
That heore Parisch hath ben pore seththe the Pestilence tyme,
And asketh leue and lycence at Londun to dwelle,
To singe ther for Simonye for seluer is swete.'

In our own country it is clear that the parish priests were both good and bad. Some were of holy thought and work, like Chaucer's poor parson, whose business it was 'to drawen folk to heven by fairnesse by good ensample.'

'He wayted after no pompe and reverence,
Ne maked him a spyced conscience,
But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taughte, and first he folwed it himselve.'

On the other hand, there were many others who failed to give example by their own cleanness how their sheep should live; who left their flock encumbered in the mire, while they 'ran to London, unto seynt Poules,' to look for one of the thirty-five chantries there established. There were full many priests like Sloth in the Vision, who knew not his Paternoster nor the history of Our Lord and Our Lady, but who knew the rhymes of Robin Hood and of Randolf, Earl of Chester; who made forty vows to-day and forgot them all on the morrow, who were never right sorry for their sins, but spent each day at the ale, full seldom thinking of 'Goddes peyne and his passioun.' This parson boasts of his dishonesty, his drunkenness, his ingratitude, his lechery.

'"I lie," he says, "abedde in lenten an my leman in myn armes
Tyl matynes and masse be do, and thanne go to the freres;
Come I to *Ite, missa est* I holde me yserued.
I nam noughte shryuen some tyme but if sekenesse it make,
Nought tweies in two yere and thanne up gesse I schryue me.
I have be prest and parsoun passynge thretti wynter,
Yete can I neither solfe ne synge ne seyntes lyues rede,
But I can fynde in a felde or in a fourlonge an hare."'

The parochial system in England on its religious side was clearly in a parlous state. To us nowadays it is no less clear

that the whole secular side of the Church called for urgent reform. To-day we attack systems, but are chary of attacking individuals; five hundred years ago the reverse was the case. Men were never tired of exposing the vices, the sensuality, the utter unworthiness of the clergy, but they dared not attack the priesthood nor the papal system; there was but one Church, and the only hope of salvation lay through its portals.

The monasteries also by the end of the fourteenth century had fallen on evil times; they had outgrown their original sphere of utility and had lost much of their original good repute. Intended as a home of refuge from the murder, rapine, and bloody war around, for those peaceful souls who were content in choir, chapter, and cloister to observe the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, to live by the rule of the order, to seek after righteousness and godliness, their very success had been their bane. They had flourished, and had manifestly come near attaining the ends for which they were started; whereupon kings had endowed them, nobles had made over to them lands and churches, death-bed donations and legacies had enriched them until they became possessed of one-third or one-half of the vicarages in the kingdom. The vow of poverty was lost sight of; that of obedience followed suit. The monasteries everywhere got themselves for a price emancipated from episcopal control and put immediately under the ægis of the Pope; before this time Bishop Grosseteste had much trouble with the Gilbertines and the Austin Canons, the Cistercians having already escaped from his jurisdiction.[1] The vow of chastity might be observed, although Saint Catharine complained that prelates connived at infamous monks corrupting the nuns in the monasteries under their charge.[2] Even at the beginning of the fifteenth century the monasteries were generally of good moral repute; but they had become social homes, and the best monks were 'good clubbable men.' They had naturally fallen in popular esteem, and the tide of popular benevolence no longer flowed as formerly; the time when they were noted for their learning and influence, the days of Lanfranc and Anselm, had long since passed; no new endowments came in,

[1] Stevenson, 150. [2] Gardner, 362.

and gifts of money became scantier and scantier. Some of the convents had overbuilt themselves, others had overbought; some had indulged too freely in litigation, others complained that their hospitality cost them too dear. The fact was that the monks themselves had fallen from their former high estate; the Carthusians, with their strict rule, still maintained model monasteries, and the Austin Canons came next to them;[1] but the conventual life generally had become more earthly and self-centred. The monks said openly that the old Benedictine rule was no longer possible of observance; the Cluniac revival had degenerated into laxity and outward splendour; the Cistercians, formerly the 'sour Puritans of the cloister,' had long ago become high-minded and purse-proud. In Germany the Benedictine abbeys, ever the most popular, were largely used as resting-places and harbours of refuge for those unfit for the war of life. Merchants sent their paralytic or maimed children, the idiots and the half-wits, the idle and the thriftless, those for any reason unfit for marriage, to the convent, and supported them while there; nobles in similar fashion got rid of those members of their households who were weak in body or in mind.[2] Indeed so thoroughly was the good old rule, of making due provision for the fool of the family, observed, that some of the convents became little better than lunatic asylums, and there remained in them no one capable of continuing the history of the abbey. The Cistercians and the Austin Canons in Germany were, however, in better case. In England married men, wearied of matrimony, occasionally left their wives and betook themselves to monasteries to end their days in peace.[3] The monks still taught in their schools, but their own younger members only; they still maintained their hospitals, but they received no sick folk from outside; they copied and illuminated manuscripts, but their interest in history was dying out. Their lands were leased to tenant farmers, and they no longer tried new methods of agriculture or imported fresh products; 'their hospitality was being shifted on the shoulders of the neighbouring inns; their almsgiving took the most wasteful and unwise forms of

[1] Grube, 6. [2] *Ibid.* 6. [3] Stevenson, 153.

indiscriminate doles.'[1] The monks lived a thoroughly selfish life, removed from the haunts of men; they loved their ease and preferred their own comfort even to the good name and fame of their abbey. When the first Prior of Grammont died and his body began to work miracles, his successor, who could not abide the crowds of unmannerly louts attracted round the quiet convent walls, threatened to dig him up and throw his bones in the river, if he did not cease his idle miracles; the threat worked, the miracles ceased, the monks lived in quiet peace again.[2] The monks in France were worse than those in Germany. Henry of Hesse alleges that they were debauched, and that their monasteries were no better than inns and brothels. Nicolas de Clamanges states that so far from being examples to the secular clergy they were in every way more worldly, more abandoned, more immoral; that there was nothing they hated so much as their cloister and the rule of their Order.[3] In England the abbot loved hunting and kept hounds, he loved hawking and kept falcons; the monks loved good cheer and good wine. The monk among the Canterbury pilgrims, 'to been an abbot able,' was 'full fat and in good point'; he loved venery—

> 'Grehoundes he hadde, as swifte as fowel in flight;
> Of priking and of hunting for the hare
> Was al his lust, for no coste wolde he spare.'

The nunneries in Germany, although they shared many of the faults of the monasteries, were generally superior to them both in morality and intelligence. No attempt, however, was made to keep up the vow of poverty; in most cloisters a noble's or a citizen's daughter was only admitted on payment of a fixed sum; in others she brought her kitchen and table with her; in others no vows were taken. There were, however, many exceptions.[4] The frivolity of the nuns of Cologne shocked a French observer. The nunneries in some parts had an evil reputation: their inmates wore costly clothes, took part in all merriments, danced round dances in the streets and at the drinking-houses: their doors stood open, day and night, to clerk and layman alike.[5] The nuns

[1] Capes, 288. [2] Lea, i. 38. [3] Gratius, ii. 564.
[4] Grube, 7, 8. [5] Lindner (*H. and L.*), ii. 249.

of Bologna were notoriously light of love; they condescended to rag-pickers and carders.[1] Saint Brigitta complained that the nunneries were rather brothels than holy retreats.[2] Nicolas de Clamanges says that the truth forbids him to speak, '*necnon de coetu virginum Deo dicatarum, sed magis de lupanaribus, de dolis & procacia meretricum, de stupris & incestuosis operibus—nam quid obsecro aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria, nisi quaedam, non dico Dei sanctuaria sed Veneris execranda prostibula, sed lascivorum & impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas receptacula, ut idem hodie sit puellam velare quod & publice ad scortandum exponere.*'[3]

But the chief offenders were the friars of the Four Orders; Gerhard Groot and Wyclif alike condemned them: they had been beautiful in their inception, they were baneful in their decay. They afforded a marked example of the rule, which has so often been exemplified in the history of the Church, that 'it is the reforming organisations which have lost their meaning that become the chief abuses in the world's history.'[4] Two hundred years had not elapsed since Dominic first sent forth his preachers to teach the truth, since Francis sent forth his disciples with messages of love to the poor and outcast, the sick and leprous. They had dwelt among the poorest and meanest in the towns, in a 'dense slough of stagnant misery, squalor, famine, loathsome disease, and dull despair such as the worst slums of London, Paris, or Liverpool know nothing of';[5] or outside the city walls in pestilential marshes where the refugees from the country pitched their huts.[6] They had lived with the lowliest; they had won the hearts of all. But as their influence increased, so did their prosperity. Peckham and Bradwardine, Archbishops of Canterbury, were Franciscan and Dominican; the Franciscans, nourished by Grosseteste, won over Simon de Montfort to become an English patriot. The celebrated Doctor Albert the Great was a Dominican; Alexander of Hales was a Franciscan; Saint Thomas Aquinas, the greatest glory of the

[1] Frati, 95. [2] Lea, i. 635. [3] Gratius, ii. 566.
[4] Creighton, *Historical Lectures and Addresses*, 72.
[5] Jessop, *Coming of the Friars*, 6. [6] Creighton, *op. cit.* 107.

schoolmen, was a Dominican. But the friars of the latter part of the fourteenth century were not as those of the thirteenth. In the early part of the century indeed they maintained their hold over all classes. The marked contrast which their renunciation and shabby dress exhibited to the worldliness, the gambling, the hunting of the secular clergy, the greater influence over the lives of the citizens which the friaries amid their busy haunts of men exercised as compared with the secluded convents of the Benedictines and Cistercians, above all, their gospel of the holiness of poverty, endeared them to the lower ranks of society. At the General Congregation of the Franciscans in Paris in 1329, whenever a barefooted friar arose to preach the doctrine of Apostolic Poverty, the common people heard him gladly. During the terrible time of the Black Death in England, in Languedoc and elsewhere, the friars stuck to their work manfully, and thousands of them died at their posts. They were the spiritual guides of the Flemish artisans at Courtrai and Roosebeke, as they were of the English peasantry who rose in the insurrection of 1381. But the majority of the friars gradually abandoned their early ideals, they sank to a lower level of life and morality. In Bohemia, where education was more widely diffused than in most other countries, the popular feeling against the Mendicants was probably more bitter than elsewhere.[1] The Dominicans fell into disrepute with the orthodox because they denied the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the Franciscans because they set themselves up against the Pope and ordinary Christians as the champions of Apostolic Poverty. The Spiritual Franciscans throughout, and the Observants from 1373, held to the stricter vow of poverty and to the poorer and more squalid form of dress; but the great bulk of the Franciscan Friars made no difficulty in accepting property; while in dress, if their circumstances allowed, they made no shame to assume a garb 'full and double and resplendent and of the finest stuff, and of a fashion goodly and pontifical.'[2] The lewd fellows of the baser sort among them were always ready to brawl and quarrel, drawing their knives with fatal results; fourteen were thus killed in a brawl at Assisi itself.[3]

[1] Palacky, III. i. 158. [2] *Decameron*, i. 222. [3] Gardner, 112.

With the secular clergy the regulars were everywhere in hopeless conflict; if the monks had tried to shift too much work to the shoulders of the seculars, the friars tried to take too much from them; they encroached on their preserves, and filched from them the offerings of the faithful. They had obtained the right to carry about portable altars for the celebration of the Mass, the right also to preach in parish churches and to hear confessions. Their sermons often contained little but spicy jests and humorous anecdotes; and their confessionals were the resort, as Wyclif complained, of every accursed perjurer, extortioner, and adulterer who was afraid to go to his own curate to be shriven. The temptation to a wealthy man was great to forsake his own parish priest, who knew too much of his livelihood, and to go to a wanton, merry friar who would certainly have given him absolution for a consideration; for the friar

> 'Ful swetely herde confessioun,
> And plesaunt was his absolucioun;
> He was an esy man to yeve penaunce
> Ther as he wiste to han a good pitaunce.'

The friars owned no superior but the Pope, with whom their Minister-General resided in close connection; they were the most powerful agents of the Papacy, its deftest, ubiquitous agents. On their behalf it must be remembered that they did not live in seclusion like the monks; they dwelt amid the hum and stress of men, within the towns and cities, or close outside the walls, open to the censure of the municipal fathers, exposed to the prying gaze of a thousand curious eyes; their vices, as their virtues, were seen and known of all men. As they fell off from their primitive simplicity and became engrossed in piling up money for the Pope and their order, as the truth which they preached became gradually mere dead words uttered by rote, so did their influence turn to evil and increase until it became overpowering. The Franciscans had always been the newsmongers in the village, and welcome in every tavern; they soon began to haunt the inns and to leave the poor unheeded; they

> 'Knew the tavernes wel in every toun,
> And everich hostiler and tappestere
> Bet than a lazar or a beggestere.'

By the close of the fourteenth century they had become contemned and hated by all classes in all countries alike. In Italy they were despised as cheats, thieves, fornicators, and workers of sham miracles;[1] everywhere they emptied the parish churches and corrupted the holy Catholic religion. They played on the follies and weaknesses of the rustic and the ignorant; their sale of spurious relics fostered superstition, and the easy terms on which they granted absolution encouraged crime. As a song-writer said—

> 'All wickedness that men can tell
> Reigneth them among;
> There shall no soul have room in hell,
> Of friars there is such throng.'

They had originally been the evangelists of truth and goodwill; they had sunk to be propagandists of superstition and crime.

### (3) Heresy and Reform

Already in the twelfth century, although there was much blind faith and superstition on the Continent, there was much heresy, which was fostered, if it was not created, by the vices of the clergy. It appeared not in the schools and among the learned, but among men and women of humble origin and of plain living and thinking. In almost every case it was anti-sacerdotal; the leading arguments of the heretics were drawn from the pride, the avarice, the unclean lives of their spiritual masters;[2] they held the old Donatist tenet that the sacraments are polluted in polluted hands; they refused to accept the decision of Pope Gregory the Ninth distinguishing between the offices of the priest in mortal sin as regards himself and as regards others. This article of their creed had a long and stubborn life, for it was common to the followers of Peter Waldo, of John Wyclif, and of John Hus. There were scores of heretical sects in Italy. In the north of Germany false Christs and false prophets appeared; the Publicani or Paulicians were sent over thence by King Henry the Second to Oxford for examination. In Brittany arose

[1] Burckhardt, 460.

[2] Lea, i. 61.

Eon of the Star, 'he who should come to judge the quick and the dead,' who was worshipped by his followers as the Deity incarnate; he, however, was probably mad. Pierre de Bruys preached in Vallonise and in Gascony; Henry, the Monk of Lausanne, at Le Mans; the influence of the Italian, Gundulf, extended to Arras. Arnold of Brescia, like Wyclif after him, preached the doctrine of apostolic poverty; the clergy should have no possessions, the Church should have no civil jurisdiction, but should confine itself strictly to its spiritual functions.

The Albigenses, known in Italy as the Patarines and elsewhere as the Cathari, can hardly be called a Christian sect; they were the descendants of the Paulicians, and were of Manichæan tendency. Paul of Samosata had lived in the seventh century; his followers had been established in Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia. They had resisted the persecution of Leo the Armenian and the 'sanguinary devotion of Theodora'; in the middle of the ninth century they had been transferred 'from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace,' where they were allowed to live in peace and to serve in the armies of the Eastern Empire. 'In the beginning of the thirteenth century their Pope or Primate resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed by his vicars the filial congregations of Italy and France.'[1] They believed in the New Testament, but disbelieved the Old; Jehovah was Satan, and the prophets and patriarchs were robbers. The spiritual world and the mind of man were made by God, but Satan made the temporal world and matter. The Albigenses therefore refused to eat flesh; they rejected the doctrine of the Mass; they held that baptism profited nothing; and they disbelieved utterly in carnal marriage. As regards the Saviour of mankind, many of them reverted to the old heresy of the Docetes, that Christ, the imperfections of matter being incompatible with the purity of a celestial substance, had never issued from the Virgin's womb; that 'He had imposed on the senses of His enemies and of His disciples; and that the ministers of Pilate had wasted their impotent rage on an airy phantom,

[1] Gibbon, vii. 56.

who seemed to expire on the Cross and after three days to arise from the dead.'[1] Catharism discarded all the machinery of the Catholic Church, replacing it by a simple daily benediction of the bread and wine, by a monthly ceremony of confession, and by the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, which reunited the soul to God, absolved it from sin, and distinguished the 'perfected' from the ordinary Christian.[2] This ceremony consisted merely in the imposition of hands, and, except in the case of those who proposed to become ministers of the faith, it was usually postponed until death drew very nigh. The sick man then generally remained without food for three days, and this 'privation' was usually equivalent to suicide. Through Provence and Lombardy these latter-day Manichæans abounded. It may seem strange that so sad a creed should have won so many converts, should have induced so many to lead lives of truth and purity; but the Cathari had rejected Catholicism because its precepts and practice were to them irreconcilably at variance, while their own simple dualistic creed fitted in with and explained the facts of their own dull, hard lives. Not happiness, but truth, they held, should make them free.

There were other heretics whose chief desire and aim it was to remain faithful to the spirit of Christ and to revert to the simplicity of the primitive Church. Chief among these were the Waldenses, the followers of Peter Waldo, who were known as the Poor Men of Lyons. Originally of no heretical tendency, they were enamoured of the beauty of poverty and of the simplicity of the Gospel. They translated several books of the Old and New Testaments; they produced in the Gallo-Roman language a text and a gloss on the Psalter. Armed with these, two of the Waldenses presented themselves in the Lateran Council before Pope Alexander the Third. He, less wise than Innocent the Third after him, while he approved of their poverty, refused them permission to preach without the consent of their clergy, and condemned their interference with the sacred functions of the priesthood. They were thus driven into hostility and opposition to the Church. They had formed the conviction that it was

[1] Gibbon, iii. 49.

[2] Lea, i. 93.

the sanctity of a man's life, and not his mere spiritual office, which gave validity to his administration of holy rites; a virtuous layman, or even a virtuous woman, could officiate, while the offering of a vicious priest was of no avail. Transubstantiation, they held, takes place only in the soul of the believer. They rejected prayers for the dead, purgatory, and indulgences. No fairer testimony to their moral worth could be given than that of an inquisitor who knew them well. 'Heretics,' he says, 'are recognisable by their customs and speech, for they are modest and well regulated. They take no pride in their garments, which are neither costly nor vile. They do not engage in trade, to avoid lies and oaths and frauds, but live by their labour as mechanics—their teachers are cobblers. They do not accumulate wealth, but are content with necessaries. They are chaste and temperate in meat and drink. They do not frequent taverns or dances or other vanities. They restrain themselves from anger. They are always at work; they teach and learn, and consequently pray but little. They are to be known by their modesty and precision of speech, avoiding scurrility and detraction and light words and lies and oaths.'[1] The modesty, frugality, honest industry, chastity, and temperance of the Poor Men of Lyons were universally acknowledged.

It is very probable that some account of the teaching of the Waldenses may have been transmitted to Saint Francis of Assisi by his father, who was a travelling merchant of considerable wealth and intelligence. The 'little brother' Francis was perhaps the most saintly man who had trod this earth since the death of his Elder Brother on the Cross. He believed in absolute poverty and the love of Christ, and through the whole of his short life—for he died in 1226—he carried his belief in the holiness of poverty to its logical conclusion. He preached the love of God; he did not argue; he detested polemics; his life was his gospel. The truth, says M. Sabatier,[2] needs no proof; it forces itself on you. So it was with Saint Francis; his life and example converted men from the error of their ways. For a time it seemed as if heresy would disappear. But his gospel in its

[1] Lea, i. 85.

[2] Sabatier, 51.

purity did not retain the undisputed field long. When the Little Brother presented his rule to Innocent the Third, the Pope warned him that it would be too hard for those who should come after him.[1] The warning proved true. Scarcely was the Saint dead than his followers divided into two sects—the Spiritual Franciscans, who desired to adhere to the letter of the rule as to utter poverty; and the Conventuals, who saw how much could be done with property rightly administered. For more than a century the strife between these sects continued. One general of the Order was a Spiritual, the next was a Conventual; the Popes now favoured one sect, now the other. Nicholas the Third promulgated a Bull, *Exiit qui seminat*, laying down that property should be vested in the Roman Church, the usufruct remaining with the friars. About the middle of the thirteenth century the Spiritual Franciscans adopted the mystical teachings of the Calabrian prophet, Joachim of Flora. His three treatises were styled *The Everlasting Gospel*, and to them the Franciscan, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, published an Introduction. Joachim's speculative prophecies had been mystical and vague; those of Gerard were clear and precise. The reign of the Father was over; the reign of the Son was closing; the reign of the Holy Ghost was to begin in the year 1260. The Roman Church, which was further from the truth than were the Greeks, the Jews, or the Musalmans, would be swept away in favour of an order of monks.[2] This was rank heresy. Persecution, spasmodic and intermittent, followed; John of Parma was disgraced, Gerard was imprisoned underground. But the sect, with its mystical teachings, taken often from works falsely attributed to Joachim of Flora, held its ground throughout the fourteenth century up to the days of the Calabrian hermit, Telesphoro of Cosenza, and of Thomas of Apulia, and even later. The tertiary order of the Franciscans continued to be the breeding-ground for all manner of strange heresies, which lived their little day and died.[3] Wilhelmina of Bohemia appeared at Milan; she was held to be an incarnation of the Holy Ghost; her followers believed that she would reappear on earth at the year of Jubilee, 1300.

[1] Sabatier, 110. [2] Renan, 283 *et seq.* [3] *Ibid.* 310.

She died in the odour of sanctity, but twenty years later her bones were dug up and burned. In 1260, the year of the new dispensation, was born Segarelli, who founded the sect of the Apostolic Brethren, and who strove to surpass Saint Francis himself in his imitation of Christ. He got himself circumcised, was wrapped in swaddling-clothes, was rocked in a cradle and suckled by a woman. When he had perished at the stake, his work was taken up by Fra Dolcino of Novara, who published his three epistles, and who declared the Papacy to be the Scarlet Woman of the Revelation. He had a spiritual sister, the beautiful Margarita of Tirol, with whom he claimed to live in unblemished chastity. Clement the Fifth issued a Bull against them; Dolcino and his followers took to the mountains; four crusades in four successive years were sent against them in Mount Saint Bernard and the neighbouring Alps. At length, on Holy Thursday of Passion Week, 1307, Fra Dolcino was captured and was put to death with the most atrocious tortures. But the sect of longest life which sprang from the Franciscans was that of the Fraticelli, who wore the small hoods and the short narrow gowns of the Spiritual Franciscans, and who, like them, preached the doctrine of utter poverty. Pope John the Twenty-second did his utmost to suppress them, for, although his was the golden age of missions in the East, the doctrine of the poverty of Christ and His apostles was hateful in his nostrils.[1] He contradicted the decisions of his predecessors, and promulgated a Bull in which he proved that the Franciscan doctrine of poverty was a perversion of Scripture, and in which it was denounced as heretical. The Franciscan friars, headed by their general Michael de Cesena, rose against him and ranged themselves under the banner of his enemy, the Emperor Louis of Bavaria. The narrow Franciscan dogma thus became of imperial importance. John's successor, Benedict the Twelfth, and Clement the Sixth after him, were unable to suppress these Brethren of the Poor Life, as they called themselves; they swarmed through Italy. Cola di Rienzo, when he fled from Rome, took shelter with the Fraticelli of Monte Maiella;

[1] Lea, iii. 133.

Luigi di Durazzo, when he rebelled, proclaimed his sympathy with them; the Archbishop of Seleucia in 1346 belonged to their order; so too did the Bishop of Trivento in 1362. The Fraticelli continued to be numerous in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Meantime the merciless crusade of De Montfort, the preaching of Saint Dominic and his followers, and the pitiless persecution of the Inquisition during the thirteenth century, practically annihilated the sect of the Albigenses in Southern France. The country was impoverished, its industry was shattered and its commerce ruined; the estates of the nobles and the goods of the wealthy were wrung from them;[1] but, with the exception of a few poverty-stricken Waldenses, heresy was stamped out of France. The subtleties of Abelard and the schoolmen were refuted by the erudition and arguments of that noble Dominican, Thomas Aquinas; and thus it came about that, as Sismondi says,[2] whether there were an honest man or not, there was certainly at the end of the fourteenth century not a heretic in the whole realm of France.

In the Spanish peninsula also there was very little heresy. A few Cathari escaped from Languedoc and penetrated as far as Leon; a few Fraticelli and Waldenses troubled the universal orthodoxy. The Inquisition was established in Aragon, and worked in the early part of the thirteenth and again in the opening years of the fourteenth century, but was never really effective; and when, in 1401, Vincente de Lisboa was appointed Inquisitor over all Spain, the only heresy specifically mentioned in the Bull is the idolatrous worship of plants, trees, stones, and altars[3]—a mere superstitious relic of paganisn.

In Italy, however, Lombardy, with Milan as its centre, continued throughout to be the home of heresy. Not only did the heretical sects of the Franciscans flourish there, but other heretics also. The Waldenses retreated to the Cottian Alps. The Cathari, when they fled from persecution in Languedoc, were able to find a shelter in any large town of Northern Italy. Ezzelino da Romano would permit no

[1] Lea, ii. 119. [2] Sismondi (*F.*), xi. 442. [3] Lea, ii. 185.

persecution for heresy in his dominions, nor would his conqueror, Uberto Pallavicino, after him. Heresy spread to Central Italy, but political faction and party spirit were everywhere dominant; and when Saint Peter Martyr won two bloody battles in Florence for the Church in 1245, the victories were as much those of Guelfs over Ghibelines as of orthodoxy over heresy. After the victory of Charles of Anjou at Benevento in 1268, and the consequent revival of the papal power through Italy, the inquisitors were able to set to work with more gusto, and by the end of the century heretics were no longer able to live securely in Lombardy or in Central Italy. But the Inquisition was ineffective in Naples; it was merely nominal in Sicily; it never gained a hold in Venetian territory. 'In Italy as in France,' says Mr. Lea,[1] 'the history of the Inquisition during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is one of decadence.' It had in fact for the time done its work. The pessimistic doctrines of Catharism gradually became extinct, although the simple and hopeful creed of the Waldenses continued to flourish amid the mountain fastnesses of Piedmont.

There was never a heretic in England before John Wyclif, and it is not necessary to speak of him at length here, for his writings before the Great Schism had mainly a political character and tendency, and were thus utilised by John of Gaunt. Other political philosophers had based their theories on 'the Bible of the Christians or the Bible of the philosophers, the Scriptures of Aristotle.' Wyclif based his on the feudal system. His treatises *Of the Lordship of God* and *Of Civil Lordship* were published by 1372. Lordship and service linked man to God; God was the universal lord paramount of every man; and every individual man was dependent on God alone, and was bound to do Him faithful service. Lordship is founded in grace; 'no one in mortal sin has any right to any gift of God, while on the other hand, every man standing in grace has not only a right to, but has in fact, all the gifts of God; . . . the righteous has all things; the wicked has nothing, only occupies for the time that which he has unrighteously usurped or stolen from the righteous.'[2]

[1] Lea, ii. 253.

[2] Poole, 293-5.

If the righteous man has not all things in this present life, if the wicked man has that which he should not, their recompense will come after death. Wyclif's doctrine of Apostolic Poverty was the result of his veneration for the spiritual dignity of the Church, which led him to sever its sphere of action entirely from that of the world.[1] At this period of his life he might indeed, like many another true son of the Church, expose 'the political abuses of the hierarchy, but in his dogmatic theology he was without blemish.'[2] He had not broken loose from the Papacy when King Edward the Third died; it was the Great Schism which made him a notorious heretic. Except by reason of their political influence, his followers in England indeed were but a feeble folk; the dawn of Reformation here was but a false dawn. Wyclif's great work in the religious world was wrought through John Hus of Bohemia; and it is somewhat curious that, just as there had been no heresy in England before the time of John Wyclif, so John Hus boasted that there had never been a heretic in Bohemia.[3]

If England, France, and Spain at the outbreak of the Great Schism were free from heresy, very different was the state of religious life in Germany, where speculation always simmered, where the prelates resented papal interference, where they and also the whole of the secular clergy hated the Mendicant Orders, and resented anything like the introduction of the Inquisition. All through the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries pantheistic teachers arose, for Northern Germany had no sympathy with the Catharism which took its rise in the Slavic countries, in Servia and Bosnia. The troublous times led to the predominance of sentiment over intellect. Among the people associations were formed, providing quiet retreats in which inmates, male or female, might live secluded from the world, bound only by the vows of chastity and obedience, enjoying the blessedness of inward peace. David of Dinant, Amalric of Bena, and Eckard of Cologne[4] promulgated a pantheism which became more and more removed from Deism and from the historical foundation of Christianity. Hence arose the

[1] Poole, 302. [2] *Ibid.* 284. [3] Hoefler, 419. [4] Ullmann, ii. 24.

Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods of the Free Spirit. They held that God is everywhere, that everything emanates from Him and returns to Him; that all souls return to Him at death, and that there is neither purgatory nor hell; that sacerdotal observances and the sacraments are useless; since the divine and human spirits are in nature identical, every act of a godly man is good; perfection consists in absolute unity with God, and thenceforth all outward actions are indifferent, for 'that which God wills in man is that which man has the strongest inclination to do, and to which he inwardly feels himself most forcibly impelled, and hence man requires only to follow the voice within to execute the divine will.'[1] The Brethren of the Free Spirit claimed that being led by the Spirit they were no longer under the Law, they were free from its trammels; they alleged that no man was perfect in whom the sight of a naked man produced shame, or the sight of a naked woman produced passion. Every kind of indulgence and excess was permissible to the godly and pure in heart—a doctrine most attractive to the ungodly and the impure; and there is little wonder that the carnal indulgence and licence of many of the sectaries shocked the ordinary lay mind.[2] One curious sect of pantheists, the Luciferans, maintained that inasmuch as God was the essence of all things, therefore Satan himself must be divine, and the devil and his angels must ultimately be reunited with the Deity. Fearful stories were told as to their hideous rites and initiatory ceremonies. The Church was not idle. There was a most cruel persecution of the Beguines at the beginning of the fourteenth century: Archbishop Henry was very severe on the Beghards of Cologne. On one occasion a jealous husband tracked his wife to an earthly paradise, witnessed the sensual orgies which were customary there, and gave information; many of the leaders were either burned or drowned in the Rhine. This was about 1325; but through the whole of this century these Antinomians, Beguines, Beghards, and Lollards were in opposition to the Church, and the Church was engaged in an exterminating war against them.

The strife between Pope John the Twenty-second and

[1] Ullmann, ii. 28. [2] *Ibid.* i. 92.

Louis of Bavaria was naturally favourable to the growth of heresy; and no sooner had his successor, Charles the Fourth, 'the priests' emperor,' been recognised, than there appeared that most fearful scourge of suffering humanity, the plague known as the Black Death. Although it was not so virulent in Germany as in many parts, still one-fourth of the population died; and then in the midst of the universal misery arose the sect of the Flagellants. They are said to have first appeared in Perugia in 1260. It was, as it were, an extraordinary effort of propitiation to avert the destroying wrath of God; 'it responded so thoroughly to the vague longings of the people, and it spread so rapidly, that it seemed to be the result of a universal consentaneous impulse.'[1] They held that except by the shedding of their own blood there was no remission of sin. Their leader displayed a mysterious letter which had fallen from heaven and had been found in the church of Saint Peter at Jerusalem; in this Jesus Christ had promised to be very gracious to all penitents in their processions, because the blood of the Flagellants was mingled with His own. Vast herds of them congregated together—men, women, and children—with veiled faces, but the men bare to the waists; they marched in bands of moderate size, each under a leader and two lieutenants; they sang penitential songs as they entered the towns, weeping, groaning, and lamenting; they required every one who joined them to remain with them for thirty-three days, one day for every year of our Lord's life on earth; they scourged one another lustily with scourges knotted with four iron points until the blood ran down their backs. From Poland to the Rhine they spread, but they flourished mostly in Thuringia, where Conrad Schmidt was their prophet Elias, and one of his companions their prophet Enoch. They professed that the blood with which they bathed themselves washed away their sins and avoided all necessity for the mediation of Holy Church; they held that Pope and clergy had no power to loose or to bind; that churches were mere houses of stone and dens of robbers; that the Mass was a howling of dogs, and the sacrament a vain babble of the priest; that vows,

[1] Lea, ii. 381.

purgatory, the adoration of the Cross and of saints were outworn, useless creeds. Clement the Sixth would have none of them, and his severe measures repressed them for a time.[1]

Charles the Fourth did little to aid the Church in its war against heresy until his expedition into Italy in 1368, when, however, he issued two edicts of unparalleled severity, intended for the support of Walter Kerlinger, the papal inquisitor. The Waldenses swarmed all over Germany; in Thuringia, Misnia, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, and in Hungary they appeared in their thousands. They were poor folk, viewed with no ill-will even by the local priesthood; they conformed outwardly in every way to the orthodox observances. A sect closely akin to them were the Winkelers. Another sect which sprang up in the lower Rhineland was that of the Dancers: they also were poor and simple. They danced and sang until they fell to the ground in convulsions; they were generally regarded as possessed by the devil; they had not been properly baptized, folk said, seeing that so many of the priests kept concubines. The sect spread over a large part of Germany and lasted for some years. But the Inquisition directed its labours more especially to the Brethren of the Free Spirit, to the Beghards and Beguines, where there was spoil to be gathered. The Beghards begged their bread to a monotonous cry of *Brod durch Gott*, but they and the Beguines possessed property. The royal edicts had ordered the confiscation of all their houses; those of the male recluses were to be handed over to the Inquisition to serve as prisons; those of the Beguines were to be sold, part of the proceeds being devoted to public purposes, part being handed over to the Inquisitors for pious uses. In Saxony, Hesse, and Thuringia a rich harvest was reaped.[2] Nicolas of Basel, the 'Friend of God,' the invisible Pope of an invisible Church, a wandering missionary who had for years propagated the doctrines of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and who had deceived many by his visions and revelations, was tracked by the Inquisition. He fled to Vienna with two of his disciples; they were discovered and seized; Henry of Langenstein

[1] Lindner (*H. and L.*), ii. 253.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 254.

laboured to convert them and flattered himself that he had succeeded, but they all three relapsed, and were burned. Another disciple of Nicolas, Martin of Mainz, who had formerly been a Benedictine monk, was burned at Cologne. Other heretics there were who attacked auricular confession, extreme unction, indulgences, the veneration of relics, and masses for the dead. Heretics were to be found all over Germany; they were most thickly scattered over the Upper Rhine, in Switzerland, and in Swabia, from Regensburg to the Austrian frontier, throughout Franconia, Hesse, and the Thuringian Forest. They were usually ready to seal their faith with their blood; hundreds were burned at the stake, and the goods of the wealthy were confiscated. But with the advent of the Great Schism and the reign of King Wenzel, who, Gallio-like, cared for none of these things, persecution in great measure subsided, and the heretics were left free to believe and to propagate their heresy.

But while there was thus much pestiferous heresy and revolt against the Papacy, there were also many devout men whose sincere desire it was to remain within the obedience of the Church, but whose pious aim at the same time was to bring about an internal reform which should sweep away the worst abuses which discredited and disgraced the present system. Such were the German mystics. The chief of these, theistical but not pantheistical, was John Ruysbroek (1293-1381), the spiritual father of John Tauler, the foremost preacher of his day, and of Gerard Groot. Ruysbroek was a priest for sixty-four years of his life; he lies interred in the church of his monastery at Gruenthal. His system, of the ecstasy of contemplation, which has been criticised on the ground that it has no distinct and necessary place for the general fact of sin, is based on the principle that man has proceeded from God, and returns to Him again. Man does not, however, become in all points one with God, for God always remains God, and the creature always remains a creature; but when man gives himself up with perfect love to God, he feels that he is in union with God; but when he acts he feels that he is a separate being, distinct from God. Man attains to this unity with God through the active, the inward, and the

contemplative life. The active life consists in God's service in abstinence, penitence, morality, and holy action; the inward life consists of love toward God, oneness of heart with Him, the conquest of the senses, the guidance of the desires and senses to unity. The contemplative life consists in free communion with God, a going out of ourselves and becoming one spirit with God; its peculiarity lies in its ever satisfying, simple, but blessed repose. 'This—the eternal repose—is the existence which has no mode, and which all deep spirits have chosen above all things. It is the dark silence, in which all loving hearts are lost.'[1]

The mystics were rebels against the system of scholastic philosophy. They circumscribed the domain of reason to enlarge that of faith. Reason, says Achard,[2] is ignorant, but faith begins by believing that which reason does not conceive; from the imperfection of reason proceeds the perfection of faith. By grace, faith knows that of which reason can acquire no certitude by experience. It is the province of reason to follow faith, not to precede her, to enable us to understand what we believe. Man's business in this world is not to reason, but to pray; he ought to give himself up wholly to God, who will make him perfect; he ought to set up the sublime ladder of contemplation, and, like the eagle, taking flight from the things of earth, to soar into the infinite. Intelligence guided by reason is no infallible guide; the true guide is conscience illuminated by grace. To attain true knowledge, one must leave the study of these vain things on which the mark of their celestial origin is scarce apparent; one must believe, one must love, one must intoxicate oneself with that love which communicates to the faithful soul a holy ecstasy, which transports it far away from matter to the bosom of God.[3] The mystics longed by serene contemplation to lose themselves in God until they found Him; they sought to work out their own salvation by a 'closer walk with God,' by communion with the Infinite. In this they resembled the early monks. 'The votaries of this

[1] Ullmann, ii. 44, note.
[2] Hauréau, *Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique*, i. 507.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 507-13.

Divine Philosophy aspired to imitate a pure and perfect model. They trod in the footsteps of the prophets who had retired to the desert; and they restored the devout and contemplative life, which had been instituted by the Essenians in Palestine and Egypt.[1]

Other reformers there were who more nearly resembled the early friars. Filled with a like consuming love for God, with a like disdain for vain philosophy, and with a like hatred for polemics, they aspired rather to live for others than for themselves; they sought to tread in the footsteps of their master, Jesus Christ, and of 'sweet Saint Francis,' who, like the Master, went about doing good. A life of holy contemplation had been the ideal of John Ruysbroek; a life of holy activity was the ideal of Gerhard Groot during his short existence (1340-1384). He was the son of the burgomaster of Deventer: born in a house upon the Brink; weak and feeble in body, but active of mind from his youth up. He studied at the University of Paris from 1355 to 1358 under Henry of Kalkar, who was distinguished for his works on rhetoric and music and for a history of the Carthusian monks. Gerhard obtained his master's degree in his eighteenth year, and then went for further study to the University of Cologne, where he first appeared as a professor. Being a man of good family, he soon obtained, in those days of pluralities, several prebends, and was made Canon of Utrecht and of Aix. He was a young prelate of the world; he ate and drank of the daintiest, he clothed himself in fine raiment, he dressed his hair with care, he enjoyed himself thoroughly in his own way,[2] he went to all the public amusements. As he was looking on at some games in Cologne, some one said to him, 'Why standest thou here intent on these vanities? Become another man.'[3] His old tutor, Henry of Kalkar, now prior of the Carthusian monastery at Monchhuysen, met him at Utrecht; he admonished him on the vanity of this world, on death, on eternity. His words sank into Gerhard's heart; he was overcome with emotion; he promised with God's help to renounce the world and to lead a new life.

[1] Gibbon, iv. 306.

[2] '*Sub omni ligno frondoso et in omni colle sublimi fornicatus sum*'; cf. Grube, 10.

[3] Ullmann, ii. 62.

He began by retiring into his friend's monastery, where he spent three years in seclusion and reflection, in penitential exercises, and in the study of the Scriptures. Then he returned to active life. He became a deacon, but refused to become a priest, saying that not for all the gold of Araby would he undertake the care of souls for a single night. He obtained from his friend Florentius, the Bishop of Utrecht, a licence to preach. He preached in the language of the people, in Low Dutch; with an easy flow of eloquence, out of the deep zeal of his love, with intense anxiety and concern for their souls, he preached to them the repentance of sin and the Gospel of Christ.[1] Christ died for us; we must live for Christ. Christ as delineated in the Gospels, Christ the root and the mirror of life, Christ the sole foundation of the Church, was Gerhard's faith;[2] the primitive apostolic Church shone in his eyes as the model of perfection. Forsaking scholastic disputations, the 'new apostle of Germany' was a revivalist of the modern type. Multitudes thronged to hear him, so that the churches were not able to contain them; he was compelled to bring his hearers into the open air. Like Saint Francis, he eschewed scholasticism and polemics; his erudition was not great; his Latin was faulty and his Greek a negligible quantity. But he was instant in season and out, with his fellow travellers, with those who sat with him at meat, with the scholars to whom he gave books to copy; in loving humility he called upon all alike, for their souls' sake, to flee from the wrath to come. He preached against sin, by whomsoever practised: when the Bishop of Utrecht wished to suppress concubinage among the clergy, Gerhard Groot was commissioned to preach the sermon in the General Synod in the Cathedral at Utrecht.[3] His *Sermo de forcaristis, factus in domo capitulari Trajectensi*, has come down to us; it was delivered in the summer of 1383.[4] He was no fautor of heresy; in fact, he was a *malleus hæreticorum*.[5] Especially inimical was he to the sect of the Free Spirit, who contemned all the holy sacraments; he pursued relentlessly the Austin friar, Bartholomæus of Dordrecht, whose sermons smacked of

[1] Grube, 17. [2] Ullmann, ii. 75. [3] Grube, 21.
[4] Bonet-Maury, 40. [5] *Ibid.* 37.

this heresy. It was at this time that the strife between the regular and the secular clergy was fiercest; and Bartholomæus had influential friends among the magistrates of Kampen. The Bishop of Utrecht was constrained to interfere; to make the blow as light as possible for his friend, he forbade all deacons to preach in his diocese. Gerhard refused to appeal against the order; until the last year of his life he never preached again.[1] His energy was not quenched; it was diverted into another channel.

Shortly before this, in 1378, Gerhard had visited John Ruysbroek, the Prior of the Canons in the monastery at Gruenthal; he was deeply impressed by the edifying and simple life of the mystic, and was no less impressed by the brotherly spirit which pervaded the social life of the Canons of Gruenthal; they formed a true brotherhood. Gerhard pushed on as far as Paris to purchase books important for the instruction of youth. When he returned to Deventer he set himself to the education of the young, and to the transcribing of good books. He employed young men as copyists; and the circle of his young friends, his scholars, and his copyists grew larger every day and soon became a regular society. One of these was Florentius Radewin, then vicar of Deventer. 'Dear master,' said Florentius one day, 'what harm would it do were I and these copyists to put our weekly earnings into a common fund and live together?' 'The mendicant monks would never allow it,' answered Gerhard. 'But what is to prevent us trying? Perhaps God will grant us success.' 'Well, then,' said Gerhard, 'in God's name begin. I will be your advocate and will faithfully defend you against them.'[2] Thus arose the first Society of the Common Lot, soon to be followed by many other brotherhoods of the same description.

The Brethren of the Common Lot or of the Common Life, or the Brethren of Goodwill, as they sometimes styled themselves, shared their goods in common; they lived partly by their manual labour, they received but never solicited voluntary donations. Their object was, by the simplicity of their life and by religious exercises, to promote the growth of practical Christianity. Even during the life-

[1] Grube, 78 *et seq.* [2] Ullmann, ii. 70.

time of Gerhard these houses of the Brethren spread as far as Saxony. Each house, as a general rule, consisted of about twenty members, four priests, eight clerks, and the rest laymen on probation. Only after a year of rigorous probation was a layman admitted as a clerk; even then no vow was taken from him, and he was at liberty to leave at any time on settling accounts. The brethren dressed in grey; they had fixed hours for devotional exercises and for labour; they dined together. A rector and a vice-rector presided over each house; and certain of the brethren were entrusted with the offices of steward, of head copyist, of librarian, of master of the novices, of keeper of the infirmary or hospital; but no hard and fast rule was established; each house made its own arrangements. The same was the case with the trades practised; the transcribing and dissemination of holy books was the chief end for which the houses existed; but the industry of each house depended upon its special aptitude. The house at Hildesheim was a manufactory of mass-books and of clerical garments; the Convent of St. Mary at Beverwijk traded in parchment, honey, wax, and salt-fish; the house at Hattem practised only agriculture and weaving.[1]

The house of the Brethren at Deventer, being the earliest, was regarded as the parent-house, and its rector was looked upon as the common father of the Brethren. When Gerhard Groot died of the plague in 1384, he appointed Florentius Radewin to be his successor; and when Radewin died he appointed Æmilius van Buren. Next to the dissemination of the Scriptures, the education of the young was the principal work of the brethren. Gerhard Groot's scheme was simplicity itself: he aimed to teach a godly life; he eschewed arithmetic, geometry, logic, rhetoric, grammar, and the like. First he taught the Gospel, then the lives of the saints, then the Epistles of Saint Paul and the Acts of the Apostles, then the works of Bernard, Anselm, and Augustine. Reading, writing, singing, Latin spoken and written, and religion were the subjects taught at the schools of the Brethren. The teaching was not so superficial as in the conventual schools; it was not confined only to those who could pay, as in the town-schools

[1] Ullmann, ii. 93.

of Holland at this time. The instruction was not generally gratuitous, but poor students were given their subsistence and the means of study. The schools of the Brethren flourished exceedingly: that at Groeningen was frequented by extraordinary numbers; that at Herzogenbusch numbered twelve hundred scholars. Wherever a large number of pupils was assured, the services of more distinguished teachers were permanently retained; classics were put into the hands of the scholars and improved grammars were introduced; scholastic Latin was superseded by Latin which Cicero could have understood. Their preaching also was in the vulgar tongue, so as to be understanded of the people. Some preached only for a quarter of an hour, others for three or even six hours; the people listened eagerly. They also gave collations, 'a sort of edifying private addresses.' Preaching, except in Latin, was almost a lost art; but now a succession of distinguished men made their appearance in Holland. John Binkerink, John Gronde, Wermbold, William Henrici, Henry Gronde, Hugo Aurifaber, Giesebert Don, and Brother Paulus, all, there is reason to believe, preached in the style and spirit of Gerhard and Florentius.[1] In the next century, from the monastery on Mount Saint Agnes, came one Thomas à Kempis, 'the ablest expounder and most successful propagator' of the Christian mysticism of the Brethren, the author of that wonderful work which has had more influence than any other book save the Bible on the religious life of Christendom.

The communities of the Brethren and of the Sisters of the Common Life gave latitude without coherence, and their founder felt that something more was needed to perfect his scheme. A backbone was wanted for the system, some central organism to which these outlying members would be articulated, something which should provide a rule and example for their life, and a safeguard for their wellbeing and protection. Gerhard recognised that some central authority was needed for counsel, support, and guidance; he saw that if this supreme power were centred in some well-ordered and regularly sanctioned body, it would help to keep the Brethren together, to protect them from external corrupting influences,

[1] Ullmann, ii. 96, 7.

to shelter them from the malicious machinations of the mendicant orders, and from others who wished them ill.[1]

For some years Groot had to this end designed to establish an order of Canons, but death came to him before he had carried out his scheme. As he lay a-dying, he called Florentius and others to him and charged them to form such a monastery as he described. He did not wish his order to be of the severe and secluded Carthusian or Cistercian pattern; he desired a monastery of Canons Regular of the Order of Saint Augustine. There was a waste piece of ground on the bank of the Yssel, between Deventer and Zwolle, which he designated as suitable for the purpose. Here, two years after the death of Gerhard Groot, the monastery of Windesheim was founded. The Duke of Guelders countenanced the undertaking. Bertholf ten Hove and Lambert Stuerman gave the land; several rich men endowed the institution; the Bishop of Utrecht sanctioned and approved. Six years later, in 1392, a second monastery, the Fountain of the Blessed Mary, was founded at Arnheim; to be followed by the monastery of the New Light, near Hoern, and by that of Mount Saint Agnes, the site of which had been chosen by Gerhard long years before, though it was not founded until 1398. Eventually the number of monasteries in Germany, the Low Countries, and the north and centre of France, increased to four score. The Canons took the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; they provided leaders for the brotherhoods; they disseminated the knowledge of the Gospel; they enlarged the area and extended the scope of popular education. But the greatest glory of the Brotherhoods of the Common Life is to have produced such humanists as Agricola and Hegius, Busch and Lange, Wessel and Erasmus, and to have indirectly by their criticism of sacred and secular works prepared the way for the Reformation.[2]

A spirit of reform, akin to that which animated the Brothers of the Common Life, manifested itself in the fourteenth century in Bohemia, where the fostering care of the Emperor Charles the Fourth had raised the clergy generally in education and morality to a higher level than their brethren in the rest of the Empire. Here also the quarrel

[1] Kettlewell, *Thomas à Kempis*, 188. [2] Bonet-Maury, 80.

was with the Friars. Conrad Waldhauser, an Augustine Canon, was invited by the Emperor from Austria to Prague, and began his ministrations in 1360. In his sermons he scourged the arrogance, avarice, and sensual luxury of his listeners; the multitudes thronged to hear him, so that there was no room for them in any church, and Conrad had to preach in the open squares. Usurers ceased their usury and offered to restore their ill-gotten gains; men ceased to molest merchants' daughters in the churches; women sacrificed their finery, their costly veils, their robes decked with gold and pearls. Could the founders of the Friars return to the earth, said Conrad, their present disciples would stone them. The Augustinian Hermits and the Dominican Friars tried to convict him of heresy, but their efforts failed: Conrad's influence in Prague remained unabated until his death in 1369.

Conrad preached in the German language, in a style noted for simplicity, clearness, and accuracy; Milic preached in the Bohemian tongue, and his poetical rhapsodies appealed to the emotions and passions of his hearers. He was Prebendary of the Prague Cathedral and Vice-Chancellor to the Emperor, but in 1363 he gave up place and power in order to follow Christ in poverty and to preach His word. The 'son and image of our Lord Jesus Christ,' he meditated on the old prophecies and the Revelation until Antichrist became an obsession to him; he saw its influence in everything, in the clergy from the archbishops down to the friars; he discovered that Antichrist would appear in person in the world in 1366. He went so far as on one occasion to attack Charles the Fourth himself, and was thrown into prison by the archbishop; but the Emperor did not remove his favour from him, and Milic appealed to Rome. He went to Rome and there got again thrown into prison, but when Urban the Fifth came back from Avignon, Milic was released and returned to Prague and his preaching again. Antichrist retired into the background; Milic attacked immorality with such fervour and effect that the Venetian quarter in Prague, where the women of evil fame lived, became deserted by its inmates and was pulled down to build a penitentiary, known as Jerusalem. Milic supported on a voluntary system both

this institution and his house for converts, and was often hard pressed for funds; but he devoted to the work all the rich gifts which came to him, for he was confessor and spiritual director to hundreds. His influence was enormous. The Mendicant Friars attacked him, and brought twelve charges of heresy against him; Milic set out for Avignon, cleared himself of every suspicion of heresy, but fell ill and died in 1374, before judgment was pronounced.

What Waldhauser and Milic had endeavoured to effect by the living voice, Mathias of Janow, the son of a Bohemian knight, did by his writings. He had studied in Paris, had lived in Rome and Nuernberg, and was appointed by Pope Urban the Sixth to be Prebendary of Prague. His chief work, on the Maxims of the Old and New Testaments, exercised an immense influence in his own time, though subsequent ages found it insufficient; he deducted four fundamental principles from the Old and eight from the New Testament, troubling himself but little about the dogma but much about the practice of Christianity, the love of God and one's neighbour, meekness and self-sacrifice, the imitation of Christ in all things. He was a great advocate for frequent communion by the laity, as were others of the more learned among his Bohemian contemporaries; but he was always an obedient son of the Church, and gave up his advocacy of daily communion and of communion in both kinds at her bidding, and also recanted his condemnation of the veneration of shrines and relics. Janow died in 1394; but many professors and preachers in Prague carried on the work begun by Waldhauser, Milic, and Janow. They resembled the school at Deventer in their efforts toward a reformation of life and morals, in their teaching and preaching in the vulgar tongue, in their promulgation of the Holy Scriptures; but they differed from that school in so far that they established no brotherhoods nor monasteries, and so left no settled organisation to carry on the work of internal reformation. In Western Germany and in Bohemia alike the reformers were faithful children of the Church, and were bitterly opposed to and opposed by the Friars.[1]

[1] Palacky, iii. 161 *et seq.*

These efforts at internal reform, unlike the movements of Wyclif and of Hus, which have largely a political character, were free from all taint of heresy. The promoters were indeed accused of heresy by the Friars, but they had no difficulty in clearing themselves. They were always ready to submit all points of doctrine to the arbitrament of the Pope, and they desired nothing so much as to remain in the bosom of the Holy Roman Church.

In the internal reform of the Church in matters of pure theology a predominating influence was exercised by the University of Paris, the 'eldest daughter of the King,' which in the sphere of ecclesiastical politics had acquired a unique position in Europe. Its scholars were citizens of the world: 'though almost all the greatest schoolmen from the time of Abelard onwards taught in Paris at one period or another of their lives, hardly one Parisian Scholastic of the very first rank was a Frenchman by birth.'[1] The University owed its importance, partly to its position in the capital city of France, in which it differed from the English Universities, and partly to its organisation, by which its judgment in matters theological was 'backed by the weight of numbers—by its hundreds of Masters of Arts and its thousands of students,' wherein it differed from the Universities of Italy. It became the tribunal of orthodoxy. In opposition to the Franciscans it condemned their doctrine of Apostolic Poverty; in opposition to the Dominicans it upheld the Franciscan doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin; in opposition to the Franciscans and the Pope it condemned the doctrine of the Retardation of the Beatific Vision, so that John the Twenty-second apologised for expressing an opinion when he was not a Doctor of Divinity; in opposition to the Dominicans and Franciscans alike it upheld the rights of the secular clergy. It was abundantly clear that in the dissensions and discussions consequent on the Great Schism the voice of the University of Paris would be one of the clearest and most authoritative.

[1] Rashdall, i. 518.

# CHAPTER III

## THE GREAT SCHISM

The 'Seventy Years' Captivity' of the Popes at Avignon came to an end in 1377. Urban the Fifth had returned to Rome ten years earlier, but he had again deserted the Eternal City for Avignon; he died three months after his return, and his death was regarded as the judgment of God upon him in abandoning Rome. It had been foretold by Saint Brigitta of Sweden. 'If he should return,' she had said, 'he will in a brief while receive such a stroke that his teeth will gnash, his sight will be darkened and grow dim, and all the limbs of his body will tremble, . . . and he will render account before God of the things which he has done.'[1] Gregory the Eleventh, stimulated by Saint Catharine of Siena, the successor of the Swedish prophetess, returned to Rome at the end of 1377; he meditated a like treachery with Urban, but his return to Avignon was prevented by his death (March 27, 1378).

The return of Gregory was indeed a political necessity if the Papal States were to be saved to the Church. Gérard du Puy had in 1372 succeeded Cardinal d'Estaing as Vicar Apostolic of Perugia, and in 1374 Guillaume de Noellet was appointed Papal Legate of Bologna. These two rulers exasperated their subjects by their ruthless cruelty, and a spirit of opposition to papal oppression blazed out and spread through the surrounding country; they excited the hatred of their own people and the distrust of their neighbours. Florence, suffering from pestilence and famine, expected the usual convoys of grain from Bologna; the Legate not only stopped the export, but sent soldiers to ravage the Florentine

[1] Gardner, 79.

fields in which the new grain was ripening. This was the culminating outrage. Florence took the lead in a war of Liberty, to free the people who were groaning under the hated yoke of the French Legates. The movement spread like wildfire. In ten days eighty towns and castles threw off the yoke of the Church. The Pope put Florence under an interdict, and procured the confiscation of Florentine goods through France and England. In 1376 Bologna joined the league against the Church. Cardinal Robert of Geneva was sent as Legate of the Romagna and the March of Ancona; he took over charge of the Company of the Bretons, well known for their savage and brutal ferocity, and made his way to Ferrara. He tried to provoke the men of Bologna to battle, but they refused to come forth from behind their walls. Robert of Geneva announced his intention of not leaving Bologna until he had washed his hands and his feet in the blood of her citizens.[1] He was constrained to go into winter quarters, however, in the friendly town of Cesena. The Bretons treated the town as if they had taken it by assault; they plundered the houses of the citizens, they ravished their wives and daughters. On the 1st February 1377 some of the townsfolk attacked the Bretons and killed three hundred of them; the Cardinal acknowledged that his soldiers were in the wrong, and promised a complete amnesty to Cesena if the citizens would again open their gates to him. They believed him, and did so. The Cardinal thereupon ordered a general massacre. He hounded on his troops, crying out for Blood, Blood: 'Kill them all!' he shouted. The bloody massacre of Cesena sent a thrill of horror through Italy: it necessitated the return of the Pope to Rome.

Bologna, which had been the last to join, was the first to abandon the league, and to return to her allegiance to the Pope; she was to have the right of free government, and consented to receive a Vicar Apostolic. Vico followed suit. Florence, being abandoned by her most powerful allies, herself opened negotiations with Gregory. A peace conference was held at Sarzana, under the presidency of Bernabo Visconti. Before the terms had been arranged, on the evening of March

[1] Sismondi (*I. R.*), iv. 421.

27, 1378, there came a knocking at the city gate, and a cry, 'Open quickly to the messenger of Peace.' The gate was opened, but no one was there. Then a cry ran through Sarzana, 'The Olive has come, the Peace is made.' It was at this day and hour that Pope Gregory the Eleventh died.[1]

The election of the new Pope was everywhere expected with the utmost anxiety; it was universally recognised as a momentous event. Gregory himself had been filled with the gloomiest forebodings. From his death-bed he had issued a Bull ordering the cardinals then in Rome to proceed at once to the new election without awaiting the arrival of their absent colleagues. There were sixteen cardinals then in the city: ten of them were Frenchmen, four were Italians. Six of the French cardinals were of the Limousin faction, connected by birth or otherwise with the families of the last three Popes; the other four French cardinals constituted the Gallican faction, and were bitterly opposed to the Limousins. With the Gallicans acted the two remaining cardinals, Pedro de Luna, the favourite of Saint Catharine, and Robert of Geneva, who only a year earlier (3rd February 1377) had perpetrated the bloody massacre of Cesena. A majority of two-thirds was necessary for election: the French or Gallican party was resolved that there should be no fresh Limousin Pope; they would have preferred one of themselves, but recognised that of this there was no chance. The young Roman Cardinal, Jacopo Orsini, counting on the aid of the nobles and the populace, dreamed that the tiara might fall to him. The Gallicans would have preferred Pierre Flandrin or Guillaume de Noellet.[2]

Rome itself was in a turmoil: the nobles and high officials of the Church were expelled from the city;[3] the Romans themselves were in a state of frantic excitement. They were determined that the divorce of the Papacy from their city should no longer continue,[4] that the profits which pilgrims and others brought to the dwelling-place of the Pope should be theirs; they were decided that no Frenchman should be Pope; they desired a Roman, or at all events an Italian. Popular feeling ran to fever-heat. Each division of the French cardinals was ready to

[1] Gardner, 233. [2] *Ibid.* 255. [3] Hefele, vi. 731. [4] *Ibid.* vi. 738.

side with the Italians rather than vote for the candidate of the opposite faction;[1] and the hopes of Orsini began to run high.

In this state, on the 7th April, with dissensions in their own body and with a violent tumult raging outside, the cardinals entered the upper story in which the conclave was held. Nature itself seemed to take part in the strife; a storm of thunder and lightning came on; men said that the lightning struck the cells of Robert of Geneva and Pedro de Luna, the future anti-popes.[2] The multitude howled without: '*Romano, Romano volemo lo Papa, o almanco Italiano!*'[3] They swore to make the heads of the cardinals as red as their hats; they piled with faggots the room over which the conclave was held; they threatened death to the cardinals if their wishes were not consulted. Bartolommeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, said to a friend, 'He who is elected in such a tumult can never be Pope; nobody will recognise him.'[4] All through the night the populace kept up the din; peasants from the hills broke into the Vatican cellars and drank up the good papal wine; men beat against the floor under the conclave with their pikes and halberds; they rang all the church bells of the city and sounded the tocsin of the Capitol; in the morning they forced the doors of the conclave. Three cardinals came out to parley with the ringleaders, who threatened to tear them in pieces if they did not at once elect a Roman or an Italian. It was necessary to do something, and that speedily. The cardinals promised to satisfy the wishes of the multitude, and consulted together. Divers plans were suggested. Finally Jean de Cros, Cardinal of Limoges, of the Limousin faction, proposed that no one of the cardinals should be elected, but that one outside the sacred college should be chosen, and he named the Archbishop of Bari as future Pope: he was an Italian, a Neapolitan, and his election would satisfy those who insisted on an Italian as Pope. Moreover, the archbishop 'had lately bought himself a house and a vineyard in Rome, in order to qualify as a Roman citizen.'[5] The Limousin faction also secretly comforted themselves with the reflection that Bartolommeo Prignano

[1] Hefele, vi. 772. [2] Lenfant, i. 8. [3] Hefele, vi. 733.
[4] Lenfant, i. 10. [5] Gardner, 258.

had risen to his present position through the patronage of the Cardinal of Pampeluna, who was a Limousin,[1] so that if elected they judged and hoped that he would be grateful to the Limousin party. All the cardinals thought that they would find in the Archbishop of Bari, who had lived for some years at the court at Avignon, a ready and subservient tool. Bartolommeo Prignano was accordingly elected Pope. The name of 'Bari, Bari,' was called out to the Roman crowd; they mistook it for the name of the Limousin, Jean de Bar, and rushed into the conclave, threatening death to the traitor cardinals.[2] Then old Tebaldeschi, the Cardinal of Saint Peter's, was presented to the mob;[3] but the aged prelate's cries, protestations, and curses at length undeceived them. The cardinals fled from the palace. Two days later, to the intense joy of the populace, the Archbishop of Bari was crowned Pope, and took the name of Urban the Sixth. The cardinals wrote to those of their number who had remained behind at Avignon, announcing to them that under the guidance of the Holy Spirit they had unanimously elected the Archbishop of Bari to be Pope, that he had duly taken his seat on the apostolic throne, and that he had been crowned on the day of Our Lord's Resurrection.

The new Pope was a short, fat man, a dark-faced Neapolitan,[4] filled with a certain monkish piety, with a hatred of pomp and of simony, but brusque and impetuous, utterly devoid of tact and self-restraint, and without any knowledge of the world. Had he known how to appreciate the circumstances aright, he would have seen a great future opening before him. There is no doubt that his election, though it may have been tainted with irregularity, was canonically valid.[5] It had been held in the midst of a tumult, and the cardinals had not been bricked up according to custom.[6] But they had solemnly declared that they had elected him freely and advisedly; they had appeared at his coronation; nay, more, they stood by him, obeyed him, accepted and solicited favours from him[7] not only immediately after his

[1] Hefele, vi. 740.
[2] *De Schismate*, 12.
[3] Hefele, vi. 736, 743.
[4] *De Schismate*, 9.
[5] Tschackert, 4.
[6] Hefele, vi. 733.
[7] *Ibid.* vi. 777.

election, but for the first three months of his reign. Their conduct during this time confirmed, if any confirmation were necessary, the canonicity and regularity of his election. The new Pope was recognised by the cardinals, was recognised through Christendom, as being the true and canonical Pope. Up to the end of July not a breath of suspicion tainted the validity of the election.[1] But Urban himself knew as well as any man the peculiar circumstances which had attended his elevation. He was fully aware of the contentions which divided the sacred college, of the motives which had led the cardinals to give their suffrages to an outsider. Had he been of politic mind, he would have given some thought to the conciliation of the cardinals, at any rate during the first months of his pontificate, in order to consolidate his position.[2] Though not a cardinal, he had lived at Avignon, and was aware of the weight and influence of the College; he knew that the cardinals considered themselves the equals of kings, and that they were everywhere treated with the utmost respect and ceremony. He knew also that many of them expected him to return to Avignon.[3] He was resolved not to return, and herein he was right; but he might have shown consideration and sympathy for the lofty dignitaries whose wishes he was thwarting, who had raised him to be the spiritual Lord of Christendom. He showed none; he was habitually rude and insulting to the members of the sacred College;[4] he abused and stormed at them; he called them fools and liars; he sprang from his seat, intending to attack one of them; he threatened to swamp their influence by creating new Italian cardinals. They had thought that he would be their creature, ready to do whatever they wished; but he, on the other hand, relying on the sympathy of the Romans, soon showed that he had played a humble part long enough, that he was now Pope and was determined to be absolute master. He was brutally overbearing and insolent to the Cardinal of Amiens, who had taken no part in the election, but who returned on Low Sunday, April 25th, to report the result of the negotiations which he had conducted with Florence, after the war of

[1] Hefele, vi. 788.
[2] Erler, 46.
[3] Hefele, vi. 783.
[4] *De Schismate*, 17, 20.

the republics against Holy Church. The Pope charged the Cardinal with destroying the peace of the world by his treacherous diplomacy; the angry Cardinal retorted that had it been merely the Archbishop of Bari who said so, he would have told him that he lied in his throat.[1] The insult to his honour rankled in the proud Frenchman's breast; it was he who afterwards first suggested to his colleagues that the election of Urban might be declared void.

Nevertheless, from April on to July the cardinals recognised Urban as Pope,[2] and breathed not a word of doubt as to the validity of their choice. In electing him they had made a mistake, and too late they discovered their error. To repair it, they resolved wilfully to sacrifice the welfare of Christendom. Under the pretext of escaping from the heat they obtained permission to leave Rome, and betook themselves to Agnani. The chamberlain, Pierre de Cros, who had charge of the tiara and the papal ornaments, took them with him and accompanied the cardinals. Pedro de Luna, who had backed up Urban all through, was the last to go.[3] From Agnani they wrote to the four Italian cardinals who still remained at Rome, pointing out that the recent election had been forced and irregular, and was therefore void. Three of the four joined them; old Tebaldeschi died. Urban, utterly abandoned, wept and recognised his own folly now that it was too late.[4] All the cardinals who had elected him were now banded together against him. He determined, if possible, to checkmate them, and on the 18th September he created twenty-six new cardinals, several of whom refused the proffered honour. Two days later the old cardinals, who had meantime moved to Fondi for greater security—Urban having quarrelled with the Count of Fondi—elected Robert of Geneva, the perpetrator of the bloody massacre of Cesena, as Pope. He took the style of Clement the Seventh. Thus arose the Great Schism.

To us at the present day, as we read the history and consider the circumstances of the time, it may not be surprising that there should thus have arisen two rival Popes; but

[1] Hefele, vi. 782.
[2] *Ibid.* vi. 746.
[3] Gardner, 72.
[4] *De Schismate*, 28.

to the ordinary unlettered man of the Middle Ages it was incomprehensible and inexplicable, a thing of wonder and amazement. There had been anti-popes before, but never before had there been two Popes elected by the same, or practically the same, body of cardinals. The unity of the Holy Roman Empire, considering the portions that had been reft from it, considering also the growing rivalry of independent nations, might have become almost a lost idea ; but the Unity of the Papacy had hitherto remained secure and unshaken, a fixed rock on which the faith of Christendom was founded. There could, men thought, be but one head of the Church on earth, even as there was but one head in Heaven. The clergy everywhere acknowledged the overlordship of one Pope. Bishops everywhere were collated, many were directly appointed by him. Peter's Pence still flowed in from the northern nations of Europe, the tribute of the humblest Christians to their one Father. The regular clergy acknowledged the one Pope as their head, and knew no other superior outside their convent walls. Pardoners traversed all countries selling indulgences which they claimed to have obtained direct from the Pope. The wandering friars brought his name home to the poorest and meanest. Every man in Christendom knew that there was one Pope, one supreme Father over the hearts of all true believers. But now that the Schism had begun, now that there were two Popes, the prospect to a lowly Christian soul must have been awful in its perplexity. Each of the rival pontiffs hurled his thunders of anathema against the other, each excommunicated the other and all who adhered to him. That the rightful Pope had the power of consigning the victims of his denunciations to everlasting damnation no true Christian ventured to doubt. But who held this power? who was the rightful Pope? In the heart of a kingdom a man might be content to follow without question the faith of his ruler; the German and the Englishman would believe in Urban, the Frenchman and the Scot would believe in Clement, but on the borders, where one village owned one obedience and the next owned another, the doubt and dismay must at times have been heartrending. Even where one Pope was generally

acknowledged, there was always[1] some town or community which held for his rival; often there was a division in the same town or even in the same house; so that no one could find peace or rest on either side, and men's consciences were troubled by doubt as to which was the true Head of the Church, and on which side one could render to God real and acceptable service.[2]

In the political and ecclesiastical worlds the Great Schism introduced a new element of discord. France held for Clement, England for Urban. Scotland precipitately, Castile, Aragon, and Navarre more deliberately and independently, followed the lead of France. Portugal, vacillating with the event of war, eventually embraced the cause of Urban. In the Levant the powerful influence of Venice and of Genoa was exercised for the Pope at Rome; but Clement was not without followers in Corfu, in Albania, in Morea, in the Island of Cyprus, and among the cavaliers of Saint John of Jerusalem.[3] Charles the Fifth had fondly hoped to gain the adherence of Germany for Clement, but to King Wenzel and to Germany generally the legitimacy of Pope Urban was as clear as the sun at noonday: Prokop of Moravia, however, thought otherwise; so too did the Duke of Juliers, the Count de la Marck, the Count of Cleves, possibly also Albert of Bavaria. Flanders consulted the doctors of Bologna and pronounced for Urban; then followed the indecisive crusade of Bishop Despenser of Norwich (1383), when the Urbanists donned the white bonnet with the red cross; this was succeeded next year by the death of Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, and the accession of the Duke of Burgundy: Philip the Bold was a Clementist, and used his influence for Pope Clement, but he left his new subjects free to follow their own convictions.[4] Duke Leopold of Austria sold himself for a price to Pope Clement; but the fatal day of Sempach (9th July 1386) restored his dominions, Styria, Carinthia, the Tirol, Austria, Switzerland, Swabia, and Alsace, to the obedience of Pope Urban. Holland, Luxemburg, Brabant, Hainault, Lorraine, and Savoy all acknowledged Clement as the rightful Pope. King Louis the Great of Hungary was

[1] Lenfant, i. 50. [2] Schwab, 155. [3] Valois, ii. 218. [4] *Ibid.* ii. 252.

on the side of Urban ; his sister-in-law, Joanna of Naples, soon took that of Clement. The Duke of Mecklenburg and the King of Norway were contending for the crown of Sweden and Denmark ; Norway adhered to Clement, his opponent to Urban. In Naples, where the childless queen Joanna had married her fourth husband, Pope Urban the Sixth, who had no desire to see the country pass into German hands, refused to crown Otto, Duke of Brunswick, and treated him with studied insolence.[1] This alienated the queen, who passed over to the Clementine faction, and subsequently adopted the Duke of Anjou. Urban favoured at first the party of her rival, Charles of Durazzo, until he quarrelled with him and excommunicated him ; in Naples the party of Ladislas, son of Charles of Durazzo, became ultimately the Roman party, while that of the Duke of Anjou remained throughout Clementine. In ecclesiastical appointments the same division occurred. Adolf of Nassau, Archbishop of Mainz, declared at first for Clement ; the Archbishops of Cologne and Trier declared for Urban. Where an election was disputed, it goes without saying that one candidate was on the side of one Pope and his rival on the side of the other : this was the case in Liège, in Basel, in Metz, in Constance, in Chur, in Lübeck, and in other bishoprics.[2]

France, more than any other country, had been responsible for the Schism. Urban the Sixth was crowned on Easter Sunday 1378 ; before the end of May a sergeant-at-arms and four of his secretaries brought the news to King Charles the Fifth ; they were followed next month by four persons attached to certain of the cardinals ; and shortly afterwards the discontented cardinals themselves, and among them the King's old counsellor, Jean de la Grange, Cardinal of Amiens, who had been so grossly insulted by Urban, wrote to Charles warning him to give no credence to the official account of the Pope's election. Urban himself sent two messengers, Francesco Tortello and Pierre de Murles ; but the latter was a secret envoy of the cardinals.[3] In August the cardinals sent from Agnani a messenger, Jean de Guignicourt, to announce officially to the King that the election of Urban

[1] *De Schismate*, 19. [2] Lindner (*W.*), i. 93. [3] Valois, i. 91.

had been null and void. Charles sent the sum of twenty thousand francs for their assistance; he wrote also to Queen Joanna of Naples to offer them shelter in case of need; he assured the cardinals themselves of his goodwill, and his letter reached them two days before they elected Robert of Geneva. All this was done by the King before the clergy of France were consulted, before any official declaration of policy was made. For several months the entire kingdom of France, like the rest of Europe, had recognised Urban the Sixth as the true Pope; and the subsequent recognition of Clement the Seventh was not universal in France, and met with special opposition in Normandy.[1] If the King of France did not exercise any direct pressure on the cardinals, if independently of his action the Schism would certainly have occurred, still he was undoubtedly an accessory after the fact.[2] There can be no doubt that Charles the Fifth, being persuaded of the validity of Clement's election, hoped to get him recognised not only by the Celtic nations, but by nearly all the Christian nations of Europe, and that he counted in particular on his good relations with the German Empire: had he lived to continue his cautious, able, and persevering policy, the result might possibly have been eventually other than it was. But Charles died on the 16th September 1380, and the Schism became established. In the eyes of the other nations of Europe too, France was responsible for the Schism. To them the captivity of the Popes at Avignon had rendered the Pope the confederate, the willing servant, almost the tool, of the King of France. The later Avignonese Popes had indeed been much more independent than they had had popular credit for; but their position in the Provençal country, within easy access of France, and far removed from the influence of Italy and Germany, was fatal to their credit as the impartial head of Christendom. When they removed to Rome again, the French influence was necessarily and visibly diminished; and men generally believed that it was to regain the lost influence that France had fostered the Schism.

The real authors of the Schism were the cardinals. To

[1] Lavisse, IV. i. 261. [2] Valois, i. 144.

excuse themselves they accused themselves of a pitiful cowardice which Cardinal Orsini, Pedro de Luna, and others of their number certainly never felt. To attribute the election of Urban to coercion and intimidation was absurd, in the case of fighting men like Robert of Geneva and Gérard de Puy. The great majority of the cardinals were Frenchmen, and the old pleasant days at Avignon beckoned them back to the sinful city. The prospect of a life in Italy, in a ruinous city, amid a turbulent populace, under the thumb of an unmannerly, overbearing pontiff who might at any moment treat any of them with the brutal harshness which he manifested subsequently in the case of the six cardinals whom he accused of conspiracy,[1] was not alluring. There had been enough violence and tumult to give colour to the plea that the election was forced and not free, and they determined to avail themselves of this plea. To their own greed and welfare they sacrificed the interest of the Church, and brought on her a grievous affliction of which no one could foresee the issue. The cardinals were the real, France was the ostensible, author of the Great Schism.

While the Great Schism, the greatest affliction which had ever befallen her since the degenerate days of the Harlots, was thus beginning to desolate the Church, there were everywhere apparent through the countries of Western Europe the signs of conflict and distress. The prosperity which had attended the close of the thirteenth century had disappeared ; much of the Continent was in a state of very slow recovery from long-continued war—from war which meant the burning of churches and homesteads, the destruction of crops, the houghing and harrying of cattle, the murder of peasants and burghers from whom no ransom could be expected. By the end of the century England, France, Spain, and the Scandinavian countries had all been troubled by wars of succession. Black Margaret, the daughter of King Waldemar, in 1397 succeeded in uniting Norway, Sweden, and Denmark under her single rule. In the Spanish peninsula the struggle was of older date and of longer continuance. Alfonso the Eleventh of Castile at his death left a legitimate son, Pedro

[1] Lindner (*W.*), i. 253.

the Cruel, by his wife Mary of Portugal, and an illegitimate son, Henry of Trastamara, by his leman, the beautiful Eleanor de Guzman. In Spain a bastard always stood a better chance of recognition and succession than in the Teutonic lands, and although Pedro won the crown of Castile for his own lifetime, Henry of Trastamara succeeded him. On his death, however, in 1379, a fresh war broke out, in which the title of Henry's son, John, was contested by the King of Portugal and by the Duke of Lancaster. One of John of Gaunt's daughters was married to the King of Portugal, but the ambitious duke did not scruple to desert his son-in-law, to marry another daughter to the son of the reigning King of Castile, and to conclude peace (1387). Aragon was spared for the present its war of succession; it was soon to come. Navarre was ruled by the French prince Charles the Bad, a traitor to his own country, a friend to Edward the Third; he died in 1387. On the east of the Empire the Teutonic Order of knights had by the force of the sword converted to the true faith much of heathen Prussia; and the Poles and Lithuanians had nominally embraced Christianity when their king, Jagello, christened Ladislas at his baptism, had married the beautiful Hedwig, the youngest daughter of the late mighty King of Hungary, Louis the Great, who died in 1382.

The three most powerful kingdoms of Western Europe, England, France, and Germany, had by the year 1380 fallen to three boys, each of whom succeeded a firm and powerful sovereign who had done much to win for his country the position which it held and the respect which it inspired. In 1377 Richard the Second, 'born without a skin, and nourished in the skins of goats,' had succeeded his grandfather at the age of ten; in Germany, Wenzel had at the age of sixteen, in 1378, succeeded his father Charles the Fourth; and in France, two years later, Charles the Sixth had succeeded his father Charles the Fifth, deservedly known as Charles le Sage. Edward the Third of England was a warrior who had brought great gain and glory to his own country, and who had wrought untold woe on France by prosecuting his claim to the French crown; but the war had

languished since the Peace of Bretigny (1360), and Charles the Fifth, by his policy of masterly inactivity and his care and economy, had done much toward the recovery of France. Even after his death and up to the close of the century peace continued for the most part unbroken; and the untiring industry and patient thrift, which then as now characterised the French peasant, began to work an improvement; agriculture and industry recovered, the barns which had been burned down were rebuilt, the vines were replanted, the fields were again covered with crops.[1] But the improvement was not for long; the old reign of misery was to recommence with the cruel civil war which broke out between the Orleanists and the Armagnacs.

The three young kings had each a hard game to play. Richard and Charles were left under the tutelage of their uncles, and each of their uncles had his own separate selfish policy. Each of the three boys was handsome and lovable; each at times displayed a kingly vigour; but each was doomed to give way to periods of inaction and to bouts of self-indulgence. Richard the Second was beautiful and pleasure-loving, like his mother, the Fair Maid of Kent. Charles the Sixth loved his people, and was loved by them his whole life through; but he was ruined and maddened by sensuality and voluptuousness, by the nights and days of feasting and debauchery into which he was plunged by his uncles. Marriage produced no improvement, but rather deepened the evil. His wife's court was described by the Augustine monk, Legrand, as the court of Venus, served by drunkenness and debauchery, and where night was turned into day by the most dissolute dances.[2] The continued tax on his strength broke him down. A melancholy madness seized the King in 1392, which rendered him incapable of government for lengthened intervals thereafter; it was attributed by the people to sorcery. It was recognised by all that the King of France was but a madman with lucid intervals. He was betrayed by his wife, the beautiful, but soon somewhat corpulent, Isabel of Bavaria, but was so fairly entreated by his 'sweet sister,' Valentine Visconti, that all men deemed that she by

[1] Sismondi (*F.*), xii. 171; Martin, v. 469. [2] *Religieux*, iii. 268.

sorcery had bereft him of reason. The King's madness not only delivered the kingdom to the selfish intrigues of his uncles, but also introduced to active life his younger brother, the handsome Louis of Orleans, the inconstant husband of the beauteous Milanese, a far more attractive and brilliant figure than the Duke of Berri or the Duke of Burgundy, but equally devoted to his own selfish aims, and equally regardless of the welfare of France. From this time the kingdom was a prey, in the intervals of Charles's insanity, to his uncles and his brother, and the factions were already forming which were to become notorious as the Burgundians and Armagnacs.

In Germany the astute Emperor Charles the Fourth had been pre-eminently a peacemaker, and had succeeded in establishing the imperial authority over the numberless particles which made up the grand, but ill-assorted, Holy Romano-Germanic Empire. When Charles died, his son Wenzel reigned well and tolerably wisely for the first ten years, although he sacrificed his own interest and the interest of the Empire in helping his half-brother Sigismund, whom he loved, but who repaid his love and sacrifice with the basest ingratitude; it was after the first ten years of his reign had elapsed that Wenzel gave way to slothfulness and drink. It was while he was thus inefficient that, at the further side of Europe, the Osmanlis had entered the continent, and the Greek Empire was tottering to its fall; the Emperor Manuel was a suppliant for aid at the courts of Venice, Paris, and London. It was the recognised task of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire to defend Christendom against the Turk; but the work now fell on the shoulders of the stalwart young warrior, Sigismund of Hungary. He tried to make headway against the misbelievers; a crusade was preached, and the King raised a mighty army; he was joined by the flower of the French chivalry under John of Nevers, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy; by the Germans under Count Rupert of the Palatine, Count Hermann of Cilly, John of Nuernberg, and others; by contingents from Poland and Wallachia; by crusaders from England under their future king; by the fleets of Venice and the Chevaliers of Rhodes. Through the impetuous folly and vanity of the French, who

set at nought the superior knowledge and advice of Sigismund, the whole of this magnificent army was defeated at the battle of Nicopolis (1396) with such overwhelming loss that Eastern Europe appeared to lie at the mercy of the infidel.

Four years later the succession to the Holy Roman Empire, the highest temporal power then known to the civilised world, was in dispute. The story will be told more in detail later on. It is only necessary to refer to it here to complete a brief sketch of the state of Europe at the end of the fourteenth century. Wenzel's apathy and disregard of the affairs of the Empire had disgusted certain of the Electors; he had neglected imperial interests in Flanders, he had sold the duchy of Milan for a price, he had not terminated the Great Schism which afflicted the Church; therefore the four Electors of the Rhine, the other three holding aloof, called upon him to appear and to answer these charges. It was true that Wenzel had fallen wofully from his first estate. Originally of a good disposition and most carefully educated by his father, he had allowed himself to fall under the influence of low-born favourites, and had given way to sloth and indecision; he had become a sot, plagued with a thirst which was popularly attributed to the dregs of poison lurking in his system; he had sold the freedom of a city for four hundred tuns of wine annually; he had loved with an engrossing, inordinate love Bohemian lasses and Bohemian beer; he had proved himself, and he was conscious that he was, utterly incapable of managing the affairs of a great Empire. But he was tenacious of his dignity, and he could appoint a regent to do the work. The three archbishops of the Rhine and the Count Palatine met at the little white chapel which still overlooks the confluence of the Lahn and the Rhine, and they solemnly deposed Wenzel; next day the three archbishops, one holding the proxy of the Count Palatine, crossed the river to Rense, and at the Koenigstuhl under the walnut-trees, on the left bank of the Rhine—the platform which had been built by Charles the Fourth as being within call of four electorates, the platform which was used on this occasion and never again—they proclaimed Rupert, Count Palatine, to be henceforth King of the Romans and future Emperor of the Holy Roman

Empire. Wenzel refused to recognise the deposition or to give up the regalia; there were henceforth two kings in Germany, and a schism was produced which lasted through the first ten years of the fifteenth century.

Italy was a land apart, utterly different from every other country in Europe. In culture, in intellect, in imagination she was far ahead of them all. The old classical authors were read, loved, and imitated. Where other countries were making puny, childlike efforts toward art and culture, the endeavours of Italy were great, almost Titanic. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, three names to resound for ages, had appeared and had passed away, taking their seats among the immortals. Cimabue and Giotto had founded the modern school of Italian painting. Nicolo Pisano had carved the famous pulpit in the Baptistery at Pisa and had left a school of sculptors behind him. In architecture, in which the pre-eminence of Italy was perhaps less marked, it is enough to mention such buildings as the Duomo at Florence, the Cathedral of Milan, the Doges' Palace at Venice, the Pàlazzo Municipale of Piacenza. But if the upper classes of Italy were far in advance of those of other countries in culture and intellect, they fell far behind them in morality and their conduct of life. Public and private morality alike were utterly dissociated from religion among the upper classes,[1] from superstition among the lower, and had practically ceased to exist. Political assassination, which roused such horror and called for such long-winded defence in France, whence it was ultimately referred to the Council of Constance, was taken as a matter of course in Italy; if a man was in the way, it was only natural, if it were possible, to remove him by poison or the stiletto. Treachery was of common occurrence, both in public and in private life; loyalty was a plant of slow growth in Italian soil. Female honour was lightly esteemed in many nations, but nowhere more lightly than in Italy; rape was an ordinary incident of everyday life. The Italian nobility unhappily lacked two motives which were all-powerful in other nations, the point of honour and the fear of God. Chivalry had never struck root in Italy, and

[1] Symonds, i. 350.

the chivalrous sense of honour was unknown.[1] Nor did their men of thought turn to religion ; art, scholarship, political science, and philosophy occupied their minds, but towards religious questions they evinced an intellectual apathy ; they feared to sin against the law of culture more than against the law of Christ. It is not wonderful that under these conditions vice was rampant. It was as easy to sin in Italy as to put on your shoes or slippers in London. State officers maintained brothels ; priests acted as panders and kept houses of bad repute. The courtesans of Venice were noted through Europe for their numbers, their beauty, their grace and accomplishments, their manifold arts of dalliance. The Italian required the 'fascination of the fancy to be added to the allurement of the senses' ;[2] he endeavoured to spiritualise abominable vices. But while in all these points Italy was the shame of Europe, in other points she was its exemplar. The middle-classes believed before all things in money and in money-making. They were shrewd men of business ; and the nobles did not disdain to take their part in commerce, navigation, and industry. The merchants of Venice and Genoa traded not only with the Levant, but also with South Germany and other parts of inland Europe. Ancona and Rimini on the eastern coast, Pisa and Amalfi on the western, were merchant ports of considerable importance. Milan and Florence were noted for their banking-houses ; the Bardi, the Peruzzi, and others financed Edward the Third of England and the King of Sicily as the same houses had financed Charles of Anjou. The commercial integrity of the Italian bankers stood very high throughout Europe. It is unnecessary to do more than mention the industrial guilds of Florence, the silk-weavers of Lucca, the armourers of Milan, the workers in oil and in wool, and the like. The Italian cities had succeeded in doing what the German cities were striving hard to accomplish : they had won a right of independent self-development, but the right was marred by the despotisms and tyrannies under which they had in many instances fallen ; it was also distinguished by the fact that the Italian cities had absorbed into their rule the surrounding country in a manner which

[1] Symonds, i. 378.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 372.

the German Free States never attempted. The people had thus enjoyed centuries of wealth and civilisation in great cities while the northern races had remained in a state of comparative poverty and barbarism. With respect to the lower classes, the dictum of a celebrated scholar may safely be accepted, that if the artists of Italy, 'not few of whom were born in cottages and educated in workshops, could feel and think and fashion as they did, we cannot doubt that their mothers and their friends were pure and pious, and that the race which gave them to the world was not depraved. . . . Italian art alone suffices to prove,' says Symonds,[1] 'that the immorality of the age descended from the upper stratum of society downwards.' Italian soldiers and the lower classes generally were not so ignorant and gross as those of England; they were less cruel and inhuman than those of Spain; they were not gluttons and drunkards as were those of Germany; they took no delight in brawls and bloodshed as did the Switzers; they were more sober and courteous than the French.[2]

In its political development also Italy differed from the rest of Europe. In the twelfth century the whole of Upper and Central Italy was split up into a number of little republics, somewhat resembling the cities of ancient Greece or the free states of Germany. The passion for self-development was everywhere the ruling motive. They were impatient of control by Pope or Emperor; they recognised that they formed part of the Holy Roman Empire, and they sought no other or closer bond of union. Each city desired to develop its own particular industry or commerce, to organise itself on its own social lines, to expand on its own political type; availing itself of its existing municipal machinery, it sought to secure independence and to place the government in the hands of its own citizens. But disturbing forces, factions within and wars without, entered and played havoc, until little by little 'each republic in turn became weaker, more confused in policy, more mistrustful of itself and its own citizens, more subdivided into petty but ineradicable fatio ns, until at last it fell a prey either to some foreign potentate

[1] Symonds, i. 383. [2] *Ibid.* i. 382.

or to the Church, or else to an ambitious family among its members.'[1]

By the end of the fourteenth century the ruling powers in Italy had become reduced to five in number. The Republic of Genoa, through fear of the Visconti of Milan, had in 1396 surrendered its liberty to the King of France, and was no longer independent; the French Constable Boucicaut was lord of Genoa and of the sea front from the Western Riviera round to Livorno (Leghorn). The Duke of Milan and the Republic of Venice divided between them the northern part of Italy; the Republic of Florence and the Papal States occupied the centre; the Kingdom of Naples formed the south of the peninsula.

Naples also had been and still was the scene of a disputed succession. Charles of Anjou had been called in by the Pope nearly a century and a half earlier (1262) to expel the Hohenstaufen; he had won for himself the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; but his oppression and cruelty had driven the Sicilians to revolt, and after the 'Vespers' (1282) Sicily was lost and Naples alone remained to the House of Anjou. In the city of Naples itself, Frederic the Second, the grandson of Barbarossa, had built him a lordly palace, and here Charles of Anjou, and his son and grandson after him, reigned in undisputed succession. The grandson, Robert, left a granddaughter, Joanna, who succeeded him. She married her second cousin, Andrew; but Andrew, not content with the position of a prince-consort, claimed the crown in his own right, on the ground that his grandfather, Charles Martel, had been the elder brother of his wife's grandfather, Robert. This unfortunate claim cost Andrew his life; and Joanna married Louis of Tarentum, her father's first cousin, who was suspected with Joanna herself of having murdered the luckless Andrew. Sixteen years later Louis died, and Joanna married again; and finally, in 1376, she married for the fourth time, but she had no children by any of her husbands. Her heir-presumptive was her second cousin, Charles of Durazzo; but the Papal Schism had now commenced, dividing Christendom, and often royal families, into two contending

[1] Symonds, i. 155-6.

families. This had happened in the case of the Anjou family; the opposition of Pope Urban to Queen Joanna had caused an important change in Neapolitan politics. The Queen, when the Pope insulted her husband, went over to the French side; whereas Charles of Durazzo was an adherent of Urban. To spite Charles and to defeat his expectations, Joanna, on the 29th June 1380, made a will, whereby she adopted Louis, Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles the Fifth of France, as her heir in Italy, in Sicily, and in France. Clement the Seventh lost no time in confirming her donation.[1] The King's death prevented the Duke from starting at once to take possession of his new kingdom; he had first of all to rob France of the necessary funds for the enterprise. Pope Urban wrote to Louis of Hungary, urging him to punish Joanna for the murder of her former husband; the aged monarch passed the task on to his nephew, Charles of Durazzo. The adoption by Joanna, letting in the second house of Anjou, provided abundant trouble for Italy both in the near and in the distant future. Charles accepted his task with alacrity; he invaded Naples, defeated the Queen's husband, captured Joanna herself—she was murdered shortly afterwards—and was crowned King of Naples in 1382, to the joy of the Neapolitans, who preferred their own countryman as Pope to the Butcher of Cesena. In the same year Duke Louis of Anjou, having provided himself with money and men, brought a formidable army to support his claim; but delay, disease, and starvation played havoc with his troops, and in 1384 the Duke himself died. Charles of Durazzo was now firmly established as King of Naples. Unfortunately he was offered the crown of Hungary; he went to that country, gained the crown, but was assassinated in June 1386. This left the claim to the crown of Naples to be fought out between two boys, Ladislas, the son of Charles, who was ten years old when his father died, and Louis the Second of Anjou, who was three years the junior of Ladislas. Louis was represented by his mother, Marie de Bretagne, who was unable to do anything for the time to advance her son's claim, which remained in abeyance.

[1] Hefele, vi. 800.

The foregoing sketch of the state of Europe at the time of the Great Schism has shown that the predominant place throughout was taken by war. War, bloodshed, and rapine, violence and disorder, were the glaring evils of the time; all classes suffered, but the lowest suffered more terribly than others. Peace and quietude was what they coveted, but what they found it difficult to obtain. The clerical greeting, '*Pax Vobiscum*,' whose full meaning we in this country find it difficult to realise, sounded a mockery to those poor souls, whose crops were pillaged, whose cattle were harried or maimed, whose houses were burned over their heads. War was the occupation and the sport of the knightly class; when real war was not to be had, they delighted in the mimic war of the joust and the tournament. But the knights formed only one class of the community.

Society in the Middle Ages was divided, roughly speaking, into four main divisions or classes.[1] There were the knights and their retainers, who dwelt in castles and strongholds; there were the merchants and tradesmen, with their dependants, in the walled towns and cities; there were the agriculturists, with their labourers, who lived for the most part in wattled huts, clustered around the church in walled villages, or gathered together close under the protection of their lord, spiritual or temporal; and there were the clerks (clerici) or clergy, who dwelt partly in clergy-houses, monasteries, or other buildings, protected by their sanctity, and partly also in the larger cities and towns. To this rough classification there were many exceptions, such as the Jews, the lay lawyers, the sea-going folk, the wayfarers, and others; but for the population generally the division holds good. Men were born into the first three classes and took their places therein by right of birth. But with the clerks it was otherwise. A man was sometimes called a clerk because he was a scholar; but the clergy, properly speaking, were men who had received orders, minor or sacred. The 'minor orders' were those conferred on acolytes, readers, door-keepers, and exorcists; the greater or 'sacred orders' began with the sub-diaconate; and upon all those who had received

[1] Cf. *Hist. Gen.* ii. 2.

them the rule of celibacy was, from the time of Gregory the Seventh, enforced. This rule was not of divine institution, it was a rule of the Church, and it was bitterly opposed at first; but long before the end of the fourteenth century it had ceased to be contested. The ranks of the clergy were therefore recruited by voluntary enlistment from the other three classes. Voluntary enlistment implies deliberate choice, generally of the volunteer, sometimes of his forebears; and a deliberate choice implies a certain amount of intelligence. For this reason, and because of their education and the demands which their duties cast upon them, the clergy formed everywhere the intelligent class in the State.

Among the population generally the grossest ignorance abounded; superstition trenched on idolatry; the time might almost be fitly called 'the Devil's Reign.'[1] Men of light and leading did things then which would be incomprehensible now. Popes and condottieri generals consulted the stars; magicians baptized their books in the lake at the foot of Mons Pilatus; the learned and reverend doctors of the University of Paris, when at their wits' end, hesitated not to consult certain wise women, foolish simpletons who saw visions and dreamed dreams.[2] But although there was much that was ignoble and debasing, there was much also of the childlike and picturesque, much that found great joy in the mystery plays and in that spirit of mimicry and imitation necessary for the education of an unlettered people, much that still lingers among the peasantry of Europe everywhere. In the early part of the century there had been a considerable amount of prosperity even among the peasantry. In France the agriculturists had been exceptionally numerous and exceptionally well off; they fared well and their farms were well stocked; the beggars had white bread given them, and the peasantry spread clean napery for their friends and ate their fowls larded.[3] In Germany also, when there was no war in his vicinity, the peasant was well-to-do; he dressed respectably and had money in his pocket; he became the laughing-stock of his city compeers because of his bearing and his

[1] Michelet, iv. 102. [2] *Ibid.* v. 302.
[3] Siméon Luce, *Bertrand du Guesclin*, 62-3.

independence. In England a little later the beggars were no longer content with their former rations; they demanded bread of clean wheat and beer of the best and brownest; the landless labourer despised 'penny-ale' or cabbage that was a night old, and asked for fresh meat and for fish freshly fried. And together with plenty of this rough comfort and coarse enjoyment there was among all classes, in those days when all the world was one religion, much good fellowship, much cheery intercourse and camaraderie. Men crossed and greeted one another at their daily avocations, they mingled in friendly rivalry in their sports and games, they prayed together in one church, they met in the evening at the alehouse; quite apart from guilds and fellowships, there reigned a spirit of goodwill and brotherhood. Rudolf of Habsburg would drink, mug in hand, to the burghers of Thuringia; Edward the Third would dance with the citizens' wives at Guildhall; Saint Louis of France would dispense justice under an oak at Compiègne.

In the middle of the century came the Black Death, the most terrible scourge which has ever desolated humanity in historic times; it swept through nearly every part of Europe, and carried off here one-third, there one-half, in some places two-thirds of the inhabitants. The fearful depopulation went far to revolutionise society; the Black Death shook the bonds of custom and introduced the reign of contract. The shortness of labourers after the calamity gave to every workman, agricultural or other, a market value; and he soon learned no longer to be content with the old customary valuation placed on his services. There was everywhere a demand for labour, and he could leave his old home and get work at better wages elsewhere. In England wages doubled; they were everywhere in excess of the statute rate, but employers were willing to risk the liability and to go on paying: the labourers worked only eight hours a day; they throve under their guilds and trades-unions; the peasants began gradually to acquire land. Very different was the state of things in France. That country had sunk from the height of prosperity to the depth of misery. The Hundred Years' War had begun, and in the intervals of the

war the country suffered from the ravages of the Free Companies. The English and their allies among the Bretons and the Navarrese had committed frightful atrocities, but Frenchman and foreigner alike, clerk and layman, combined to pillage the unhappy land of France. The *grandes compagnies* were composed of miscreants of all nations, bands with the discipline of an army and the instinct of brigands, commanded by chiefs like Robert Knolles or Hugh Calverley, like Olivier de Clisson or Eustache d'Auberchicourt, or even by the priests like Jacques d'Aigregeuille, the curé of Mesvres, or the Archpriest Arnaud de Cervolles. These ruffians spared neither man, woman, nor child in their fury and lust; they burned and despoiled houses, sacred and profane: indeed, after the castles, the buildings most capable of fortification and defence were the cathedrals, churches, and abbeys, and these were therefore invariably the object of attack. King Charles the Fifth, by his wise economy and his policy of masterly inactivity, had done much to restore the credit of his country, but he could not recompense his peasantry for the sufferings they had endured. After the insurrection of the Jacques had been quelled, the country abode in comparative peace. In Germany also the Emperor Charles the Fourth did his best to keep the peace among the numberless heterogeneous elements of which the Empire was composed, and for the most part he succeeded. But everywhere through Western Europe toward the end of the fourteenth century a spirit of popular discontent had been rising among the people, and it gradually culminated in insurrections and outbreaks. In 1378 the Ciompi or 'wooden shoes,' the proletariat of Florence, rose in a half-revolution, half-strike, to obtain reduction of taxes and better terms of employment: they burned the palaces of the nobles and introduced a reign of terror, during which the city was given over to outrage and pillage. In Flanders the 'white bonnets,' the democratic party, rallied in Ghent around the bourgeois Philip van Artevelde; they marched victoriously against Bruges, but were mown down in their thousands by the French at Roosebeke (1382). In England the peasants throughout the eastern counties, from Norfolk round to

Sussex, revolted, thousands of them marched on London, and demanded from their King the abolition of serfdom (1381). At Rouen the coppersmiths and others rose; they elected as their king a rich draper, a big man but poor of spirit; they opened the gaols, pillaged the houses of former mayors, tore up charters (1382). In the same year the Parisians rose against the tax-gatherers and the Jews; they seized twelve thousand leaden mallets from the Hôtel de Ville, and for three days the Maillotins were masters of the city. In Auvergne the Tuchins, or dog-killers, appeared; they were recruited from the poorest of the poor, and nothing was safe from them. In Languedoc the peasants and the men of the faubourgs, reduced to the utmost misery by the war and taxation, rose in fury against the nobles and the priests, killing all who had not hard and horny hands like their own (1382). Something resembling an international feeling of sympathy among the working classes had sprung up; for the first time, says Henri Martin,[1] the populace in the different nations of the West experienced the instinct of the identity of their cause, and an electric movement of sympathy ran from the banks of the Seine and the Scheldt to those of the Thames. In 1386 the Swiss peasants defeated Leopold of Habsburg in the disastrous battle of Sempach; and next year the war, simmering since 1379, broke out between the Swabian cities and the Dukes of Bavaria, and between the towns on the Rhine and the Count Palatine. Most sad were the results: for miles round the cities and fortresses the villages were utterly destroyed, and not a church nor a house remained standing. There was at this time, as Michelet has said, the profoundest trouble throughout Christendom; it seemed as if universal war were commencing between the low and the great.

It was in the middle of all this horror and misery that the Great Schism had begun. Its existence was universally admitted and universally deplored. It was everywhere felt to be necessary in the interest of Christendom to put an end to the disunion as speedily as possible. 'Divine Providence,' Frederic Barbarossa had once said, 'has specially

[1] Martin, v. 339.

appointed the Roman Empire to prevent the continuance of schism in the Church.'[1] The Emperor, when he uttered this axiom, was undoubtedly the most powerful monarch in Europe. But when Charles the Fourth died there was no Emperor; the King of the Romans was a mere boy of sixteen. Charles had recognised Urban; he had commended his cause to his son; and all Europe expected, and the Pope at Rome most anxiously hoped, that Wenzel would forthwith proceed to Rome to be crowned Emperor, and that the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire would thus proclaim to all Christendom that Urban the Sixth was the rightful and legitimate Pope and that Clement was a usurper. But there were obstacles in the way. In 1381 indeed, Wenzel and King Louis of Hungary sent an embassy to Paris to endeavour to convert the French court to the Roman obedience; but the result was a foregone conclusion, as was that of the counter-embassy sent two years later from Paris to Prague. The journey to Rome was imperative in the interest of Urban. Difficulties in the Empire, negotiations with Hungary and Austria, the strife over the archbishopric of Mainz and over the Swabian League, occupied Wenzel in the earlier years of his reign; and when in 1382 he announced his intention of making the journey to Rome, the death of Louis of Hungary and the consequent advancement of the claims of his half-brother Sigismund to the crowns of Hungary and Poland delayed the project for some years further. At this time in his reign Wenzel practically gave up his chance of wearing the golden crown in order to further the interests of Sigismund, and bitterly he was repaid for his sacrifice. The coronation of Wenzel and his acknowledgment of Urban were not to be. An Emperor was not thus to put an end to the Schism. Some other means must be sought.

From the very beginning the plan of a general council had been broached. Before the election of Clement, the Italian cardinals, with the assent of Urban, had proposed that the question of the validity of his election should be referred to a council;[2] two of them repeated the suggestion

[1] Gresebrecht, v. 236, 422.

[2] Hefele, vi. 789; Schwab, 105.

afterward at Nice.[1] The Florentines, when the Duke of Anjou tried to win them to Clement, replied that they had already recognised Urban as their Pope, and that they must stand by their decision until a general council decided that they were wrong.[2] King John of Castile, in his letter of the 20th September 1379, advised Charles the Fifth of France to refer the matter to a general council, this being the plan, he said, which all Christendom approved. The most eloquent and persuasive advocate at this time of a general council was undoubtedly Henry of Langenstein, the vice-chancellor of the University of Paris, who (1381) held that God had in His mercy permitted the Schism in order to bring about the much needed reform in the Church, for which a general council was necessary.[3] He was the first to urge that the divine right of the Pope must itself be subordinate to the welfare of the Church; his teaching fashioned the thoughts of Jean Gerson, who when Pierre d'Ailly was promoted to a bishopric, succeeded to the chancellorship of the University in 1390. King Charles the Fifth was himself in correspondence with the warmest adherents of the scheme of a council; but despite the embassy of the Duke of Luxemburg, despite the arguments of Henry of Langenstein and Conrad of Gelnhausen, the King of France died with the assertion on his lips that he still believed Clement the Seventh to be the true shepherd of the Church, although he so far wavered as to admit that he would have obeyed the finding of a general council had it gone against him.

But the chief argument against a council was that neither Urban nor Clement nor the cardinals would hear of it. There were indeed almost insuperable difficulties in the way of its adoption at that time. There was the difficulty as to the place of convocation amid the wars and jarring interests of Europe. There was the difficulty as to the mode of convocation: it was the duty of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire to convoke a council, but Wenzel had not yet received the golden crown; and if a council could not meet without the consent of the Pope, then both Popes and cardinals refused to act. There was the further difficulty

[1] Lindner (*W.*), i. 111. [2] Valois, i. 155. [3] Schwab, 151.

of enforcing the decrees of the council when they had been made. The project was, at the commencement of the Great Schism, repeatedly made; it was as often, because of the manifest difficulty and dilatoriness attending its execution, deliberately discarded. The plan was especially favoured by the Universities of Paris, Oxford, and Prague;[1] and the year after the death of King Charles the Fifth, the University of Paris returned to their scheme. Pierre d'Ailly received a respectful hearing, but when Jean Rousse, a Doctor of Abbeville, was commissioned by the University to lay the matter formally before the royal council, the Duke of Anjou, who had welcomed the election of Clement far more heartily than his brother, and who looked to the new Pope to finance him in his design on the crown of Naples, not only did not allow the orator to speak, but sent armed men by night to seize him in his bed, and consigned the Doctor to the blackest cachot of the Chatelet.[2] For several years the University was reduced to ignominious silence. The 'way of fact,' the expulsion of the opponent by brute force, was at this time the only solution of the difficulty which found favour at any court of Europe.

On Christian Europe the Schism produced its natural result. Scholars began to doubt and inquire; divisions of opinion and heresy speedily appeared. The spirit of scepticism as to the Pope's authority and infallibility had indeed appeared in Germany in the days of Louis of Bavaria, when Pope John the Twenty-second, in his quarrel with the King, had laid the land under interdict and had introduced strife into many bishoprics, when he had fallen foul of the Franciscans because of their doctrine of the poverty of Christ and had himself come under suspicion because of his theory of the Beatific Vision, when the sect of the Free Thinkers gained ground and the Mystics taught personal communion with God—all these things turned men's eyes toward the shortcomings of the Church and opened their minds to inquiry and scepticism. The critical spirit dated from the days of the Babylonish Captivity at Avignon. Michael of Cesena had taught that the Pope may err, but that a Council of the Universal Church cannot err. William of Ockham believed that the Pope may

[1] Palacky, iii. 9.

[2] *Religieux*, i. 86.

err, that a general council may also fall into error, and that infallibility is to be found only in the Scriptures and the beliefs of the Universal Church. Marsiglio of Padua had published the *Defensor Pacis*, a work which in many points might be accepted almost without reserve by a Protestant to-day: its teaching was, as has been already shown, that the domains of the spiritual and civil powers were separate, that the former had no coercive jurisdiction, that the Catholic Faith rests on Holy Scripture alone, that when doubts arise as to the meaning of the sacred Word, these can only be settled by a general council of the faithful, on which clergy and laity alike have seats. The Schism profoundly shocked John Wyclif; he saw each rival Pope fulminating excommunications against the other; and he speedily came to the conclusion that the Papacy itself was the great evil, that it was the poison of the Church. Like the Spiritual successors of Francis of Assisi, he believed in the absolute poverty of the clergy; he believed also in 'dominion founded on grace.' These were doctrines which, carried to their logical conclusions, might have important political bearings; his opposition to the Church was most clearly evinced by his theory as to transubstantiation; he denied the orthodox doctrine, he refused to believe that a priest could by a daily miracle transform the wafer and wine into flesh and blood. Wyclif thus became a heretic, and a dangerous heretic. But heresy, if not engendered, had been fostered and increased by the Schism. As a German historian has put it, the Captivity at Avignon, followed by the Schism, brought on the Reformation.[1] Furthermore, it was the Schism which discredited the papal dignity and tended to destroy all reverence for the supreme head of the Church. 'In England it strengthened immensely the reforming movement, and made entire distrust, defiance even, of a Pope seem not merely a patriotic but a religious duty.' Christ's vineyard in England had been beautiful and fruitful, sang an old Latin poet, but now the Lord's vineyard was laid waste; 'O now, plague-stricken land, that didst team with all sound learning free from the taint of heresy, stranger to all error, exempt from all deception: now thou rankest as

[1] Lindner (*W.*), ii. 307.

the chief in all schism, discord, madness.'[1] Wyclif had sown the seed; the fruit soon appeared. Oxford, London, Leicester, and Bristol became centres of Wyclifite influence. Nicholas of Hereford, Philip Repyngdon, and John Aston were summoned before the archbishop to answer for their advocacy of the new doctrines. A few years later several fellows were expelled from Queen's College, Oxford, because of their sympathy with the teaching of the reformer. Even at court the gentle Queen Anne, elder sister of Sigismund, was not unfriendly to the new teaching; she encouraged the use of the open Bible. The Bohemian scholars who followed her to the English Court took back with them afterwards to their native land the books and teaching of John Wyclif.

Far more important to the Popes than any such downright heresy, which could be met with and fought outright, was the anti-papal, almost latitudinarian, spirit which had taken possession of that stronghold of orthodoxy, the University of Paris. The sight of two Popes in Christendom raised the question whether the Pope was after all the real head of the Church, whether the real head was not Christ; if the Pope was merely His earthly representative, might there not be two or three, or ten or twelve Popes, an independent Pope for every different country,[2] with its own independent Church? Such speculations indulged in by theologians were fatal to an undivided papal supremacy, but luckily they found no response in the civil powers. In the University of Paris itself, however, they were rife, and she was the acknowledged champion of the faith, to whose dictates kings, and even Popes, were wont to defer. For the University of Paris was the first seminary of theology in Europe, she was a cosmopolitan institution, with scholars from all countries, speaking the cosmopolitan tongue, Latin; and at this time she, the venerated mother of Saint Thomas Aquinas and of William of Ockham, had in her midst a crowd of eminent theologians. There was Henry of Hesse of Langenstein, the great advocate of the scheme for a general council, who left Paris in 1382; there was Matthias of Janow, who was later Prebendary of Prague; there was Pierre Plaoul, who was sent on an embassy to Germany; there was the cele-

[1] Capes, 134, 153.

[2] Schwab, 133.

brated Pierre d'Ailly, who regarded the person of neither Pope, who was also an advocate for a general council, but who, in his advocacy thereof, bided his time, waiting until 1407 for a favourable opportunity; there were the three noted disciples of Pierre d'Ailly, Gilles des Champs, the sovereign Doctor of Theology, Jean Charlier de Gerson, the Christlike teacher, and Nicholas de Clamanges, the Cicero of his time.[1] These were men who would exert a profound influence on the progress of negotiations during the Schism; and it is important, therefore, to grasp the nature of their thoughts and predilections. Perhaps the most noteworthy phase was the revolt in the bosom of the University itself of the despised and neglected theologians against the canon and the civil law. This revolt was necessarily anti-papal, for the Popes were almost invariably lawyers, doctors of the canon or of both civil and canon law, with a lawyer's liking for the clear-cut intelligible wording of the decretals, with a lawyer's dislike for the subtle metaphysical distinctions of the mediæval scholastic theology. Moreover, Clement the Seventh, when he became Pope at Avignon, took no thought for the Church but to suck the marrow from her bones, and troubled not at all about the professors at Paris. It is small wonder, then, that an anti-papal spirit grew among them. Its position as the champion of orthodoxy gave the University prominence, and lent to the teaching of its professors an importance and a weight which did not attach to those of Wyclif or of Hus. Hence arose during the continuance of the Schism the preponderating influence of men such as D'Ailly and Gerson, whose views it is important to understand. The theology of D'Ailly may serve as an example.

Born in 1350, the son of humble but honest parents, Colard and Petronilla, a patriotic Frenchman all his life through, Pierre d'Ailly went to the College of Navarre at the University of Paris; when he was twenty-two years of age, he was chosen proctor for the French Nation at the University, and took his degree as Doctor in 1380. It was then that he published his theological tractate on the Church. He was a middle man, standing cautiously between the two parties; he had imbibed

[1] Tschackert, 7, 66.



Pierre d'Ailly.

the teaching of Pierre Dubois and John of Paris, of Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockham; but he saw that the Church had not been utterly overthrown by Philip the Fair, and his liberalism was moderated. Above all, he was a Frenchman and a Gallican, a Gallican before the time of Bossuet, a Gallican before the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. He was too conservative to belong to the party directly opposed to the Church, and too close a follower of the new philosophy to belong to the orthodox. In philosophy he was a nominalist, and nominalism had the advantage of drawing a sharp line between matters of the faith and of the intellect, of confining the reason to the things of which consciousness was taken, mediately or immediately, through the senses and the intellect, and of relegating the higher truths of religion to a supernatural mysticism. But through it all D'Ailly was essentially anti-papal. The Church, in his view, was built on Faith, Hope, and Charity. Faith, inspired faith, *infusa fides*, was the evidence of things not seen, the intellectual assent to the catholic verities; it provided the set stones of the building, of which Hope raised the unsurmountable walls, and to which the Love of God and one's neighbour formed the all-embracing roof: the truly spiritual were the inner walls, the preachers and teachers were the windows of the building, the portals were the truth of God's word, and the pillars were the men of action, the shepherds and leaders. Thus was Holy Church an organised whole, the fellowship of Christians based on Holy Writ, perfect but not yet perfected, for believers are still united with Christ in building up the House of God. There is no mention of the Pope here; it is the Church which is all-important; she is the Holy Mother who reconciles men with God; her priests administer the sacraments which build up inspired faith; and when the sinner through fear dare not betake himself directly to Christ, he turns trustfully to the arms of the merciful mediator, the Church. D'Ailly set a high value on the written word of the Bible, he was energetic in favour of a correct translation of the original; but he did not accept the written word as his criterion, he regarded it as merely a sign or symbol of the true law, and as a nominalist he looked through the word to find the under-

lying idea; he found his touchstone in inspired faith, backed by conclusive argument. 'The law of Christ,' he says, 'may be most properly defined as inspired faith, or its action, by which rational man assents to the truths of Christian doctrine'; [1] the law may indeed be enunciated in words, but it may also be known inwardly as the knowledge of good and evil. Holy Church he takes to be the community of believers; its foundations are the words and promises of Christ, who is the true Head of the Church. The Church is not founded on timid, frightened Peter, but on Christ; 'for other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus.' There are pillars of the Church of the second order, among which is Peter, the rock on which Christ built His Church, so that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. But Peter obtained thereby no pre-eminence, seeing that all believers rest equally on Christ's words; nor was the promise that his faith should not fail made to him personally, but to the Church committed to him. So, too, Christ's promise to His disciples to be with them to the end of the world is a promise made to the Church of faith for believers. D'Ailly did not believe in Saint Thomas Aquinas's doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, any more than did Saint Bernard of Clairvaux or the Electors at Rense, or John the Twenty-second when he claimed to correct the errors of his predecessors. He pointed out how the Decretal of Gratian had been corrected by Gregory the Ninth on the ground that some of the contents were superfluous and others contradictory, and how Boniface had made further additions, bolstering up some parts and cutting down others; he urged that the Canon Law was not necessary to the Church's existence, for it had been said long before decretals were known that Christ was the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. In his view as to a general council D'Ailly resembled William of Ockham; he avoided the recognition of its infallibility even in matters of faith; he thought it possible that such a council might err, and that the knowledge of the truth might be restricted to a few poor simple souls, as at the time of the Crucifixion it had been restricted to the Virgin Mary. In practice, however,

[1] Tschackert, 22.

D'Ailly was not troubled by these subtle distinctions; he was ready to refer the termination of the Schism to a select committee chosen from both obediences—an impracticable scheme which he soon abandoned. He was clear above all things on the two points that neither the Church at Rome nor the Pope was essential to salvation. Frenchmen who had embraced the cause of Clement were unanimous on the former point; and as to the latter, D'Ailly, while admitting that a human body without a head is dead, contended that the Church was the mystical body of Christ, and that even without an earthly head She would remain alive through faith and grace, seeing that She had a high priest in heaven, even Christ, who was head over all things to the Church. There is much that is mystical in the reasoning, there is much that is apparently capricious in the way in which a text is taken now literally and now anagogically, but the trend of the theology of D'Ailly and also of Jean Gerson was distinctly anti-papal.

# CHAPTER IV

## BALDASSARE COSSA

'All men,' says the old Italian novelist Bandello,[1] 'whose experience by travaile is a wytnes of the singularities of Italye and Spaine, are of opinion that Naples is one of the moste riche, pleasante, and populous cities in Europe,' and he mentions the warlike garrison of gentlemen there; he mentions also the islands hard by: 'he that is desierous to be pertaker of the merveiles of nature, hidden in th' intralles of the earthe, let him take a boate and visit the ylandes.' It was in one of these islands that dwelt the family from which sprang the future Pope John the Twenty-third. In civilisation and enlightenment, as already pointed out, Italy was far ahead of the other nations of Europe; noble and burgher dwelt peacefully together within the city walls; nor was the Italian Church degraded by being overstocked with younger sons of lofty families. But the Neapolitan nobility were less civilised and enlightened than those in other parts of Italy; they were noted for their vanity and for their isolation from the common herd. The nobles of Venice and Genoa were merchants and sailors; part of the old nobility of Florence had devoted themselves to trade; those of Rome, though they despised trade, farmed their own lands; but the nobility of Naples neither busied themselves with trade or commerce nor with the care of their own estates.[2] More backward and less cultured than their fellows, they were naturally marked alike by more of the antique faults and by more of the antique virtues of their class.

Among the Neapolitan nobles who had remained consistently

[1] Fenton's *Bandello* (Tudor Translations), i. 250. [2] Burckhardt, 362.

faithful to their old queen Joanna and to her protégés of the second House of Anjou was Giovanni Cossa, the Signor of Procida, the head of a noble but impoverished family. The name was also spelt Coscia or Coxa, the word being the Italian form of the French *cuisse*; the family banner bore the canting arms, 'a field divided per fess, in the upper half a gold thigh on a red field, on the lower half three green bands on a silver field, the whole enclosed in an indented circle of gold.' There were some who pretended that the family had been founded by the old Roman Cornelius Cossus, of the days of the war against Veii; they said that the family was one of those which Totila, after taking Rome in 547, had dragged in his train and had settled in Campania: but this is mere mediæval legend. The family came from the island of Ischia; in the days of King Charles the Lame (1285-1309) Stephano Cossa was high in favour with that monarch, and at his death he left to the king's care his three sons Marino, Giovanni, and Pietro. When King Charles died he was succeeded by his son Rupert, with whom Marino, the father of Giovanni Cossa, was as great a favourite as his father had been with King Charles. Marino became Chamberlain and Justiciar, and in 1340 he was wealthy enough to purchase from its owner Adinolfo the island of Procida, which lies between Ischia and the mainland. The Cossa family were all of them men of war;[1] they held four baronies in the kingdom of Naples, besides the dukedom of Santa Gata, and one of the minor secretaryships;[2] they were still of importance when Baldassare Cossa, one of several brothers, was born.[3] Gaspar, the future admiral, was a brother

[1] Ammirato, iv. 345.

[2] Scipio Mazella Napolitano, *Descrittione del Regno di Napoli*, 538.

[3] Christophe, in his *Histoire de la Papauté* (iii. 343), says:—'Baltazar Cossa ou Coscia, la Cuisse, avait reçu le jour à Naples du Comte Jean de Troye, seigneur de Procide.' He gives as his authority Novaez. Giuseppe de Novaez, in his *Elementi della Storia dei Pontifici* (Siena, 1803), says:—'Giovanni XXIII., chiamato prima Baldassare Coscia o Cossa, nacque in Napoli, da Giovanni Conte di Troja e Signore di Procida, come dice il Marchese nel suo Libro de Protonotarii Partecipanti, o come altri vogliono di famiglia mediocre.' He refers to Marchese Buonaccorsi (Giorgio Viviano) as his authority. Marchese, in his *Antichita ed Excellenze del Protonotariato Apostolico* (In Faenza pel Benedetti Impress. Vescovia, MDCCL.), at p. 114, says:—'Baldassare Cossa Napolitano, figlio di Giovanni Conte di Troja e Signore di Procida'; he then gives the details as to the family which I have

of the future Pope. Cossa was born about, or possibly a year or two before, 1368,[1] the year in which was born the man who was to be his ruin, Sigismund of Hungary, and the year before the Bohemian patriot and reformer, John Hus.

Of the early life of Baldassare Cossa two accounts are given. According to that generally current, in his early youth he, like Martuccio in the story, took to the sea and became a corsair or pirate. His family lived on an island, and the profession was gentlemanly enough in those days. The wreckage thrown up by the sea was known as the strand-goods, and the pious peasantry who dwelt near the coast prayed the Lord without ceasing to increase the *strand gut* in their quarters. The Hanseatic League had been formed two centuries earlier to protect fishing smacks and merchant vessels from the lordly pirates of the North Sea and the Baltic. Piracy prevailed from the thirteenth century onwards on both sides of our own narrow seas, and all along the coast from Germany round to Aquitaine. The grand seigneurs of Normandy and Brittany were wont to man boats at their own expense and to start across the Channel in hope of booty,[2] at times pushing as far as Wales to give a helping hand to the rebels there. Nor were we, on our side of the Channel, averse from the same game. Every one remembers the Man from Dartmouth, the Shipman among the immortal Canterbury Pilgrims, who

> 'If that he faught and hadde the hyer hond,
> By water he sente hem hoom to every lond,'

thus getting rid of his victims by making them walk the plank. The Scots raided the English vessels, the English raided those of the Scots and French. Henry Pay of Poole, Philip Tailor and John Wells of Bristol, and a score of other English gentlemen, committed acts of piracy time after time; they were the worthy forerunners of Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins. Many

quoted, and refers to Mazella, *Istoria del Regno di Napoli*, p. 709, as his authority. I have referred to both works of Mazella, and have given the gist of what he says; but I can discover no authority for the statement that the father of Baldassare Cossa was Count of Troja, who was, as is well known, a trusted general of King Ladislas of Naples, the bitter enemy of Baldassare Cossa.

[1] Cf. Hunger, 31.

[2] Barante, iii. 7.

a castle in Piedmont, where the hills sloped down to the coast, was owned by a baron who divided his time between brigandage on the land and piracy on the seas. To be a roving corsair on the deep water was in those days almost as respectable a vocation as that of a knight-errant on land.[1] There were scores of such corsairs in and around the Bay of Naples; and a man might be a pirate and yet find place and favour in the papal court.[2] Baldassare Cossa had been brought up by the sea, and was ever a man of action. He joined his brothers, and was the boy of the party. It is easy to picture them, with their long low galleys, painted dark green, and manned with a hundred oarsmen and fifty soldiers apiece, all of whom had been sworn in on the Gospels, and also by bread, wine, and salt.[3] They would lurk toward evening in some creek off Ischia or Procida, on the watch for the round sailing-boats, the *nefs* or *coques* or Genoese *panzonos*, which came coasting along, two or three together for mutual protection. As the sun went down and the twilight gathered over the rapidly darkening waters, their prey would appear and the galleys would dash out to board them. Often enough they would find that they had caught a Tartar, for the merchantmen were on the lookout for the ocean thieves. If the cargo was valuable, the owner was probably on board, and to his advice the captain would defer: men-at-arms filled the belly of the sailing-ship; a smart fight would ensue; and if needful the retinue of the poop, whose duty it was to defend the flag to the last man, would be called into action. The stir and dash of the fight would delight the warlike soul of young Cossa.

When in 1382 the Angevin troops came over from France to Naples, the brothers joined them, and their piracy became thus converted into legitimate warfare. This war lasted until 1384, and as that with the younger Louis of Anjou did not begin until three years later, it is only in the former that

[1] Even a century and a half later piracy was still 'an inseparable accident of Mediterranean life, and the normal depredations of the Barbary syndicate or of the Knights of St. John were no more regarded as acts of war entailing the rupture of a peace than were cattle-lifting raids on the Anglo-Scottish frontier.'—Armstrong: *The Emperor Charles V.*, ii. 238.

[2] *De Schismate*, 83.

[3] La Croix, *Vie Militaire*, 77 *et seq.*

Baldassare Cossa can have taken part.[1] He soon grew tired of a corsair's life, though the habit of wakefulness at night, which may have been thus acquired, never forsook him. It was probably strengthened later on when he was in the court of Boniface the Ninth, for that Pope used to sleep from the hour of prime on to vespers, and to recite his office at night.[2] When Cossa was a Cardinal at Rome, his habit was not to rise till midday, then to hear Mass, and then to get shaved.[3] The story of his having commenced life as a pirate rests solely on the authority of his enemy Dietrich von Niem; no other author makes mention of it.

Baldassare Cossa was at this time a young man, robust and square-set, handsome of face, with dark penetrating eyes,[4] and rather high cheek-bones; ready of wit and ready of speech; a Neapolitan with a vein of sardonic humour in him; sufficiently wealthy, active, intelligent, and ambitious. He was a man of the world, neither better nor worse than his contemporaries;[5] an Italian with all an Italian's love and admiration for *virtu*, for force, courage, ability, virility. He also possessed the Italian fault of judging men too exclusively by his own standard, of taking his own good points for granted and attributing them to others. He now desired a nobler fortune and a wider fame; he was a born ruler of men, eloquent and per-

[1] Niem says (Hardt, ii. 338):—'Dum autem simplex clericus, ac in adolescentia constitutus existeret, cum quibusdam fratribus suis piraticam in mari Neapolitano, ut fertur, exercuit. Quis tunce inter quondam Ladislaum Regem Siciliae, defunctum noviter, & Dn. Ludovicum, ducem Abdegavensem . . . periculosa guerra . . . vigebat. . . . Sed cum postea, fortuna suadente, dictus Ladislaus Rex regnum ipsum, expulsis inde dicto Domino Ludovico ejusque in magna parte auxiliatoribus, & subactis ibidem aliis hostibus suis, qualitercunque obtinuisset, & praeterea raptoribus & piratis . . . licentia subtracta fuisset: Ipse Balthasar Cossa se transtulit.' The remark that it was not until after Louis of Anjou had been expelled from Italy that Baldassare Cossa ceased piracy and went to Bologna, shows that the war referred to by Niem must be the first war (1382-1384) between the first Duke of Anjou and Charles of Durazzo, rather than the second war between the second Duke of Anjou and Ladislas, in which the Duke did not finally leave Italy until after the battle of Rocca Secca. This is borne out by the next remark of Niem on Baldassare Cossa's residence in Bologna, 'ubi licet multis annis sub studentis figura stetisset'; for if Cossa after many years as a student became Archdeacon of Bologna in 1392, it must have been the first war between Naples and Anjou in which he took part.

[2] *De Schismate*, 137.

[3] Mur. xxiv. 1005.

[4] Lindner (*H. and L.*), ii. 284.

[5] Erler, 341.

suasive; he would have made a successful condottiere general, or he might become a worthy follower of Cardinal Albornoz. Time was to show that he lacked one characteristic necessary for the highest success, for he was by no means an infallible judge of men or of character. A strong man, he delighted to see himself surrounded by strong men; he loved learning and eloquence;[1] but he was apt to select his subordinates simply for their worth and reputation, without regarding whether their very virtue would permit them to render service and fidelity to himself. This will be manifested more than once in the story of his life. To such a man as Baldassare Cossa there were then in Italy practically but two careers open: unless he became a Doctor at some University, he must either be a soldier of fortune, a leader of his own troops, or he must be a churchman. He might, since Italy was then learning to use the sons of her soil and to do without foreign mercenaries,[2] like Alberigo de Barbiano, raise a band of Italian soldiery and emulate the fame of Jacopo del Verme. To do this would entail a training in the art of practical warfare, which required time and opportunity; it demanded the ability to deal with and to enforce obedience from the roughest and most brutal parts of humanity among Italians, or mayhap of still more intractable troops among foreigners, and in this his experience on the sea might have been of service had he been older and his training more prolonged; it would also have necessitated a large preliminary outlay of capital to provide the very heavy pay then offered to cavaliers, and this it was probably beyond his means to procure. The calling of a condottiere general was undoubtedly that for which Baldassare Cossa was most fitted; he was, as has been well said, '*homo callidus et astutus, sed parum aptus religioni.*'[3] But the Church offered the readier and more promising career. More especially was this the case when the Pope was himself a Neapolitan, eager to bestow advancement on his fellow-countrymen. It was not many years before this time that Urban the Sixth had raised in a single day no less than thirty-two Neapolitans to be archbishops, bishops, and abbots, so that men said there was no countryman of the Pope so wretched or stupid that he might

[1] Duchesne, ii. 555. [2] Mur. xix. 919. [3] Duchesne, ii. 555.

not look for similar promotion.[1] The Pope was ready to promote a clerk to be cardinal, regardless of his character, if he were of his party and a Neapolitan.[2] Be the reason what it may, Baldassare Cossa chose the older and more honourable profession. In order rightly to appreciate his choice we must remember that its object was not the ideal Church, nor the Church as we know it to-day, but the Church at the end of the fourteenth century as we have attempted to describe it, and as it appeared to a man of the world and a man of action at that time.

The time was the commencement of the Great Schism, when the seamless robe of Christ was being rent in twain between the rival claimants. In those early days of the disruption, the idea of referring the matter to the decision of a general council was scouted as being at once too difficult and too dilatory; the suggestion generally accepted was that the intruder should be expelled by force, and that all Christendom should thus be again brought into obedience to a single Pope. The idea that there might be more than one Pope was merely academical, and found no popular favour. The adherents of each Pope claimed that he alone should be the sole Pope, and that all countries should render obedience to him. To carry out this idea Clement the Seventh pretended to create a Kingdom of Adria in favour of the Duke of Anjou, and thus to enfeoff him with the greater part of the States of the Church in addition to the Kingdom of Naples.

The first serious attempt to end the Schism by the 'way of fact' was the expedition of the Duke of Anjou for the conquest of Naples. The objects of that expedition were the reconquest of the kingdom and the expulsion of the intruder, as Urban the Sixth was called by the adherents of Clement. When he first heard of the capture of Queen Joanna, his adoptive mother, the Duke had seriously meditated the abandonment of his claim; subsequently he had reconsidered his decision and had determined to drive out Charles of Durazzo. Having pillaged France as much as he could, the Duke took his way to Avignon, arriving there on the 22nd February 1382; on the 1st March he was recognised by Pope Clement as Duke of

[1] *De Schismate*, 51. [2] *Ibid.* 81.

Calabria; on the 30th May he received a banner bearing the arms of Sicily and Jerusalem and did homage to Clement for his future kingdom; on the 13th June he set out with his army. It had been necessary to wait until the snows melted. The expedition was financed for the most part by Clement the Seventh; the Visconti of Milan also contributed considerable sums. It was doomed to disastrous failure. The Duke tarried a month at Turin on his way to Bologna; thence he marched by the Adriatic to the borders of Ancona, where he broke up his forces into three parts; with one he marched past Rome, left Urban in possession of the city without attempting to oust him, and made for Aquila; here at last, on the 17th September 1382, he was in the promised land. Had he marched at once on Naples, had he occupied some port so as to communicate with his fleet, the result of his enterprise might have been different. Charles of Durazzo pursued with Louis of Anjou that policy of masterly inactivity which Charles the Fifth of France had so successfully pursued with England. To begin with, he sent him a cartel of defiance; and nearly three months were wasted in vacant preliminaries. Then pestilence carried off Amadeus of Savoy, the 'Green Count,' and the Duke of Anjou regretfully saw the Savoyards wend their way homeward. He gained some slight advantages at Pietracatella and Aquila; his banner floated in Calabria and Apulia, in Abruzzi and Basilicata, and in the Terra di Lavoro. The quarrel between Pope Urban and Charles raised the Duke's hopes; but want of money kept him inactive for nine months at Tarentum, until he was lured thence by the hope of fighting a decisive engagement at Barletta. The two armies were within a mile of each other; for three days the Duke expected an assault; then the King marched away again, and the Duke was fain to retrace his steps to Tarentum. The end was near. The Duke caught a chill at Biseglia in trying to stop his men from pillaging; he took to his bed, and died on the 21st September 1384. His glorious army of nearly a hundred thousand men had been wasted by disease, by privation, and by the climate; cavaliers who had left France richly caparisoned, their purses full of gold, their garments sparkling with precious stones, returned on foot, staff in hand, begging

their way. Charles of Durazzo was King of Naples; the attempted conquest of the country, the attempt to end the Schism by the 'way of fact,' had disastrously failed.

Even before the death of Duke Louis there had been misunderstandings between Pope Urban and Charles of Durazzo. The Pope, who wished to enrich his worthless nephew Butillo at the expense of the King, had come to Nocera, and claimed to be Lord Paramount of the Kingdom of Naples. As a practical retort Queen Marguerite stopped all imports to Nocera and reduced the papal party to such straits that the cardinals and the Curia fled to Naples. The Pope appeared three or four times a day for five months at the windows of his castle and cursed the King and Queen of Naples with bell and candle. The cardinals thought he was mad, and decided that he needed curators to be appointed; but one of them, the Cardinal of Manupello, played the traitor and informed Urban of the design. He convened a Consistory of the cardinals, seized six of them, threw them into cramped and noisome dungeons, tortured them, and finally sailed away with them to Genoa. Here five of them mysteriously disappeared—no one knew how they had been done to death; the sixth, Aston, an Englishman, was released at the intercession of King Richard the Second.

Then followed, as has been already related, the ill-fated attempt of Charles of Durazzo to secure the crown of Hungary. His murder left the succession to the kingdom of Naples to be fought out between two boys, his son Ladislas, aged ten, and Louis the Second of Anjou, aged seven. Although Pope Clement recognised Louis as King of Naples, the royal princes who ruled France during the minority of Charles the Sixth were cold or hostile to his claims. The death by poison of Bernabo Visconti had also robbed the boy of a supporter and of a bride, for Louis was to have married Bernabo's daughter Lucie. In place of this alliance Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the murderer of his uncle Bernabo, gave his daughter Valentine on the 8th April 1387 to the French King's brother, Louis of Touraine, afterwards Duke of Orleans. This retained for Milan the French alliance, but did not help the cause of Clement, for Gian Galeazzo managed to keep on terms with

both Popes. Clement and the French King also made overtures to the Florentines, but those wary republicans declared that the claims of the contending French houses in Naples were matters too great for them, and that they could not possibly renounce their obedience to Pope Urban until a general council had decided against him.[1] Viterbo and other cities in Southern Italy were gradually won over to Urban, who, however, had transferred to the young Ladislas the hatred which he had borne to his father Charles of Durazzo, whom he had excommunicated and damned to the third and fourth generation. The rough and uncompromising demeanour of the Pope had driven Tuscany, Romagna, and Lombardy into a threatening league at the very time that the King of France, throwing off the guidance of his uncles and calling the 'Marmousets' to power, had espoused the cause of his young cousin, Louis of Anjou. The King and the Duke came to Avignon, on All Saints' Day, 1389; Louis of Anjou, in white samite, did homage to Pope Clement for the kingdoms of Sicily, was anointed with holy oil, and received from the pontiff the sword, the globe, the sceptre, and the crown. The King and the Pope had clearly determined to support his cause and to try again the 'way of fact'; but before anything decisive could follow, while the King was still in Languedoc, came the news of the death of Pope Urban the Sixth. When this happened Baldassare Cossa was still reading law, the indispensable study for any man who hoped to rise in the Church, at the University.

In order to fit himself for an ecclesiastical career, Cossa had gone to the University at Bologna. That ancient city on the Aemilian Way lay 'at the intersection of four provinces—Lombardy, the March of Verona, the Romandiola, and Tuscany. To this day it is the point at which converge all the great lines of communication between the northern entrances to Italy and its centre; in that age there was no place better situated for a meeting-place between the students of Italy and students from beyond the Alps.'[2] The school in Bologna was the most famous in Italy; its only respectable rivals at this time outside the peninsula were the schools at Paris,

[1] Tartini, ii. 140.

[2] Rashdall, i. 118.

Oxford, and Prague. But while the greatest of these, Paris, was specially the school of theology, Bologna was pre-eminently the school of law. This was but the natural result of pre-existent conditions. 'The Scholastic Philosophy and Theology of the later Middle Ages were the natural fruits of the seed sown in Northern France, England, and Germany by the Dialecticians of the Dark Ages. The revival of legal science which is associated with the name of Irnerius was the natural outcome of the educational traditions which the cities of North Italy had inherited from that old Roman world to which alike in spirit and in constitutional theory they had never wholly ceased to belong.'[1] In Italy at the close of the fourteenth century no one but the Mendicant Friars ever thought of studying theology: the spiritual monarchy of the Church of Rome was established not upon theology, but upon the Canon Law; the sacerdotal hierarchy was a hierarchy of lawyers; all through the Middle Ages the most important sees in Christendom were filled by Canonists. Early in the twelfth century the lectures of Irnerius on the Corpus Juris Civilis, which were followed by the publication in 1151 by Gratian of the Decretum, the authoritative text-book on the Canon Law, had attracted students from all parts of Europe; they came in such numbers that Odofredus, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century, was of opinion that at the end of the preceding century there were not less than ten thousand students in Bologna. Many of these came from across the Alps; they were men of mature years, already provided with livings, and with dispensations for study. Barbarossa, in his day, had done the foreign students a good turn.[2] The pursuit of learning was attended with difficulties in those turbulent times. Sometimes the students would be robbed by armed bands as they approached the city;[3] occasionally a student would himself 'hold up' the school with hired ruffians; a rector had been assassinated by a scholar in 1303, and another attempt of the same kind was made while Baldassare Cossa was himself at Bologna.[4] The students from outside Bologna had, for the purpose of self-protection, formed themselves into Universities,[5]

[1] Rashdall, i. 94. [2] Giesebrecht, v. 42. [3] Frati, 109. [4] *Ibid.* 107.
[5] 'Citizenship, which with us is little more than an accident of domicile, was

which at first were four, but were afterwards two in number, the Universitas Citramontanorum and the Universitas Ultramontanorum. By the time Baldassare Cossa placed his name on the list of members, these two Universities had become practically fused into one. Many of the students were young, many of the Italian freshmen were mere boys of thirteen; but others among the Ultramontanes were beneficed clergymen, some being dignitaries or canons. Books were both bulky and costly; the poorer students were apt to fall into the hands of usurers, or even into those of their own readers who were not ashamed to exact scandalous interest from them. The nobles sat in the front row at lecture, wore the same black gown as the other students, but lived with their own servants in separate houses, the rent of which was fixed by the taxers and city-arbitrators. In those days it was scarcely possible for the students to return home for the shorter vacations, so that the year lasted from 10th October until the end of the following August.

Baldassare Cossa applied himself to the study of the Canon Law, and of its indispensable preliminary the Civil Law. The Bologna school, as already mentioned, was a practical law school; there was no Faculty of Theology until 1352, and 'the consequences of this constitutional peculiarity were of the highest importance. From the schools of Bologna strictly theological speculation was practically banished, and with it all the heresy, all the religious thought, all the religious life to which speculation gives rise.'[3] To this lack of early training must in some degree be attributed the want of sympathy and comprehension which marked Cossa when he entered into relations and subsequently into conflicts with the churchmen of France, to whom theological strife and controversy were as

in ancient Athens or mediæval Bologna an hereditary possession of priceless value. The citizens of one town had, in the absence of express agreement, no civil rights in another. There was one law for the citizens; another, and a much harsher one, for the alien. Prolonged exile was a serious penalty to which a body of young men of good position in their own cities, many of them old enough to be entering upon political life, would naturally submit with reluctance. The Student-Universities represent an attempt on the part of such men to create for themselves an artificial citizenship in place of the natural citizenship which they had temporarily renounced in the pursuit of knowledge or advancement.'—Rashdall, i. 152.

[1] Rashdall, i. 261.

the breath of their nostrils. He was all through life a practical man of action, never a man of speculation or thought; he understood what was, he thought little of what should be. His training at Bologna intensified this habit of mind. The course of Civil Law and Canon Law lectures then took ten years; and probably Cossa remained at Bologna the whole ten years, for we know that he was there for many years—'*multis annis sub studentis figura*,' says Niem[1]—attending the lectures at the houses of the Doctors. The morning lecture, which was the most important, began as soon as the bell rang for Mass at nine in the morning in the Cathedral of San Pietro, and it continued until the bell rang again for tierce; in the afternoon, from three to six of the clock, there might be two further lectures. Cossa won renown for his scholarship; he satisfied the examiners of both Faculties, and became a Doctor Utriusque Juris. The day of the public examination, before which the candidate had already satisfied his promoters as to his fitness, was an occasion for considerable pageantry. The candidate, preceded by the bedels and escorted by his fellow-students, marched on foot or on horseback to the Cathedral, where he made a speech and read and defended a thesis on some point of law, after which he was presented to the Archdeacon. This dignitary then made a complimentary oration and conferred on him the right to teach. The new Doctor was then seated in the magisterial chair, the book of the law was handed to him, the gold ring placed on his finger, and the magisterial biretta on his head; then he was conducted in triumph through the town, escorted by a mounted cavalcade of friends and students, preceded by the three University pipers and the four University trumpeters.[2] As his fellow-students clustered round Baldassare Cossa and inquired what he was going to do now, he answered them: 'To be Pope.'[3] It was a true word spoken in jest.

It would be interesting to know whether Baldassare Cossa met at the University of Bologna any of those who were associated with him in after life. If he was indeed born in 1368, then his friend Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, a well-read man who delighted in literature, and his future general, Braccio

[1] Hardt, ii. 338. [2] Rashdall, i. 230; Frati, 119. [3] Platina, 343.

da Montone, both of whom were born in that year, may have been fellow-students with him at the University.

The pious, just, and incorruptible but headstrong, cruel, and foolishly impolitic Pope Urban the Sixth died in the Vatican Palace at Rome on the 15th October 1389. He had left Genoa for Lucca at the end of 1386, and had come on to Perugia on the 2nd October 1387. Here he had a fall from his horse, but undaunted he tried to get together an army to conquer Naples. Funds failed him, and he betook himself to Rome (Sept. 1388), where he found the city in uproar. He tried to appease the citizens by appointing 1390 as a year of Jubilee. As usual, when a Pope died, there were rumours that he had been poisoned. The cardinals entered forthwith into conclave, and on the 2nd November announced that they had elected his successor.

This was Pietro Tomacelli, another Neapolitan, who took the title of Boniface the Ninth, a name which augured no friendly feelings to the French court. Noble, tall, handsome, and but thirty years of age,[1] of unimpeachable morality, not over learned, but courteous and affable, the new Pope was in almost every respect the opposite of his predecessor.[2] Boniface reinstated the cardinals whom Urban had ousted, and set to work forthwith to win back the temporalities of the Church. He was convinced that it was necessary that the Pope should be able to live 'of his own' without outside support, and the difficulty of procuring revenue from distant lands supported this view.[3] He welcomed the overtures of Marguerite of Durazzo, and sent a cardinal to Gaeta to anoint and crown her young son Ladislas.[4] Thus the Pope at Rome became the recognised supporter of the house of Durazzo on the throne of Naples, and it became the policy of that house to support unquestioningly the Pope at Rome.

Italy was at this time overrun by bands of English, Italian, and German soldiers, sometimes taking part in the petty wars between rival factions in town and city, sometimes plundering the land on their own account; harvests were burned, vineyards and olive-groves were hewn down. There were also a number of strong places which held to the

[1] Minerbetti indeed says twenty-four; Tartini, ii. 190. [2] Mur. iii. 832.
[3] Raumer, 183. [4] Tartini, ii. 206.

obedience of the Pope at Avignon, and so long as Urban lived their number was not reduced; but with the new Pope came a change. Boniface set to work to reduce some, to win over others; every year of his reign saw an improvement in the state of Italy. He gained Viterbo, which had again revolted, Montefiascone, Narni, Spoleto, Orvieto, Bologna, Ancona, Perugia, and other cities. Noble families, such as the Este, Montefeltre, Malatesti, Alidosi, Manfredi, Ordelaffi, acknowledged his overlordship. Rome herself abandoned her republican independence, and admitted the full *dominium* of the Pope; the Engelsburg was restored, the Capitol and the Vatican were fortified.[1] Thus Boniface the Ninth reinstated the papal dominions in their former splendour, and so far he was one of the most successful Popes who ever filled the chair of Saint Peter. But these schemes demanded money, and the Schism had reduced the ordinary revenues by one half. The Pope did not hesitate to prostitute the spiritual to the temporal interest of the Church. He reaped enormous wealth from the Jubilees of 1390 and 1400; he increased the sale of indulgences; under him simony reached its climax. It was useless for a poor man to appear in the papal court; everything, even a signature, had to be paid for; and if, after the first payment for a benefice had been accepted, a better offer was made, this second offer was accepted also, and the grant or order was antedated. An utterly shameless system of repeated sales of presentations became recognised. In every possible way money was accumulated. Personally the hands of Boniface were clean, for he spent every penny on the Church; but this cannot excuse the system which he enforced.[2]

Meantime the young Duke of Anjou sailed for Naples and entered the city under the banner of Clement the Seventh;[3] he conquered divers castles and cities, and tried to tempt Ladislas to a pitched battle at Aversa. War in Apulia was continuous, much damage was done, and the peasants suffered grievous hardships.[4] The King of France had announced that he was himself about to invade Italy, bringing Pope Clement in his train; but his project was stopped by the English am-

[1] Erler, 88.
[2] Goeller, 2.
[3] Tartini, ii. 226.
[4] *Ibid.* ii. 242, 333.

bassadors, who required him to come and meet their King. The meeting never took place, and a fresh violent attack of madness caused the plan to be postponed indefinitely and threw the kingdom again under the fitful guidance of the royal princes. Clement the Seventh, who had spent nearly five hundred thousand francs on the 'way of fact' since the death of the first Duke of Anjou, was destined to see one project after another promise fair and then fade away before his eyes. The 'way of fact' was the only method of terminating the Schism of which he dreamed; it was the method on which he cheerfully spent his revenues, and it failed him utterly.

In addition to its other disadvantages, the 'way of fact' was undoubtedly the most costly method of ending the Schism. It entailed on Pope Clement an enormous expenditure. He had also the Comtât to defend against the rapacity of nobles such as Raymond of Turenne; he had to pay for his feasts to the King and the royal princes, and he abated no whit of the customary pomp of the papal court. He was lavish in his gifts to the cardinals, who were allowed to seize on benefices right and left. He granted permission to the King and princes to tax the clergy to an extent hitherto unapproached, so that instead of being known as 'the Servant of the servants of God' he was popularly called 'the Servant of the servants of the French King.' The clergy were sore oppressed. In addition to the aids which they were obliged to pay to the King, they had also to pay tenths to the Pope; they were called on for voluntary subsidies, for forced loans, for first-fruits, for services, for procurations, and for spoils; benefices, moreover, were only granted to those who paid most highly for them. The poverty-stricken Church of France was thus most cruelly exploited, and it is small wonder that the clergy became lukewarm in their attachment to the greedy and rapacious pontiff whom they still held for their legitimate Pope.[1]

Belief in the 'way of fact' was indeed becoming cold in France generally. The Theological Faculty of the University was winning its way to power. Pierre d'Ailly, the eloquent Rector of the College of Navarre, had thrice been chosen to proceed on missions to the Pope. He had appeared first on

[1] Valois, ii. 384.

behalf of the University in the matter of fees wrongfully levied by the Chancellor; then he had contended against the Dominican John of Montson for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin; and in 1387 he had advocated the canonisation of Peter of Luxemburg. In 1389 he was appointed Confessor to the King, and from this year onward he steadily made his way as court preacher and as courtier, scourging the offences of the Church on the one hand, and casting in his political lot with the Duke of Orleans on the other, making full use of his position both as Chancellor of the University and as King's Almoner. He won the confidence of the King, but the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri were against him. He was backed up by his friends and pupils, by Gilles des Champs, who was now the Rector of the College of Navarre, by Nicolas de Clamanges, who was Rector of the University, and above all by Jean Gerson, who had accompanied D'Ailly on one occasion to Avignon. On the Feast of Epiphany 1391 Gerson preached a long and eloquent sermon before the court; he called on the King to come to the aid of the Church; he warned him that Charles the Great, that Roland and other heroes of bygone time would rather have died a thousand deaths than have suffered the present evil to continue; he invoked the help of the royal dukes and the nobles then present and listening.[1]

With such a worldly pontiff as Clement it was natural that there should arise in France a disposition to hear the other side; and at this time overtures were made from Rome. Pope Boniface informed the father of the French Queen that, if Clement would acknowledge that Urban had been rightful Pope, he would appoint Clement to be his Legate and Vicar-General everywhere save in Italy, England, and Portugal. In 1392 Boniface sent two Carthusian monks to the King, urging him to work for the union of the Church, reminding him that the Church had never undertaken any great work apart from France, nor France any such apart from the Church. The two monks were seized at Avignon by the Duke of Berri and were cast into prison, but they were released as soon as the King recovered his sanity, and were welcomed with acclamation at Paris, where public prayers were offered for the termination

[1] Schwab, 126.

of the Schism. Boniface in his next letter went so far as to demand that Clement should be deposed;[1] but meantime public opinion had strikingly manifested itself.

In January 1394 the University of Paris plucked up courage again to address the King, urging him to activity in the work of restoring unity to the Church. Wonderful to relate, a favourable answer was returned them by the Duke of Berri. 'The excessive duration of this execrable Schism,' said he, 'is a shame to the King and the royal house. All the world is tired of the Schism. If you can devise a remedy which the Council can approve, we will at once adopt it.' Pierre d'Ailly and Gilles des Champs had their plan ready.[2] The University took immediate action. They placed a large coffer in the Cloister of the Mathurins, and requested every one who could suggest any remedy for the Schism to drop therein a written memorandum of his proposition. More than ten thousand notes were dropped into the coffer; they were examined by fifty-five professors, who reported that three principal methods had been proposed. These three plans were—(1) the way of cession, or the simultaneous abdication of both Popes; (2) the way of compromise, or an arbitration between the rival Popes; and (3) the way of a council in which the universal Church should be represented and its opinion upheld. Now that the University of Paris had pronounced against the 'way of fact' and was in favour of a different method of ending the Schism, now that the French King, who three years earlier had been ready to carry fire and sword into Italy, was in communication with Pope Boniface, Clement the Seventh recognised that he had lost ground, and determined to counteract his enemies if possible. He invited D'Ailly and Des Champs to Avignon to help him in the control of the Church; but they feared for their lives and declined the invitation. He sent Cardinal Pedro de Luna to Paris, where he sowed tares among the wheat and won the ear of the weak-willed King. When the University next endeavoured to approach the King, their protector the Duke of Burgundy was absent from Paris, and the Dukes of Berri and Orleans, both partisans of Clement, were at the head of affairs. As soon as the former Duke

[1] *Religieux*, ii. 46, 104.

[2] Tschackert, 88.

understood that the University wanted to suggest the abdication of his friend Pope Clement, his anger flared out, and he threatened to put to death the authors of such an audacious proposal or to throw them into the Seine.[1] Even when the Duke of Burgundy returned to Paris the University fared very little better; they were allowed to state their three proposals at length, and to suggest a subtraction of obedience from the Pope, who would not agree to the method selected; but they got no further. On the 10th August 1394 they were informed that the King did not intend to trouble himself further about the matter, and that they were not to trouble themselves about it either. The University craftily wrote to Clement, telling him what they had done, and begging him to co-operate with their efforts to restore unity to the Church. Their letter was read publicly; when the reading was halfway through, the Pope rose in anger and cried out that it was a defamatory libel against the apostolic seat, full of poison and of calumny, fit to be read neither in public nor in private. He shut himself up for several days, and was then dismayed to hear that the cardinals had met and were considering the letter. Calling them to him, he reproached them bitterly; he would hear of no other way of ending the Schism than the forcible expulsion of his rival. The knowledge that any other plan was deemed feasible reduced him to such a state of chagrin and weakness that, after a slight illness of three days, he complained after morning Mass of his heart failing him, called for wine, was struck with apoplexy, and expired on the 16th September 1394, in the fifty-second year of his age.[2] 'And it came by hym as he has alwayes said before: when any man spake of the peace and unyon of the Church, he wolde say alwayes, howe he wolde dye Pope, and so he dyd.'[3]

Six days after Clement the Seventh, the butcher of Cesena, had expired, the news of his death reached the King of France. He at once saw that there was a chance of ending the Schism, and realised that instant action was necessary. He forthwith assembled his privy council, added to it some members of the great council, and on the proposition of Simon de Cramaud, Patriarch of Alexandria, wrote to the cardinals at Avignon

[1] *Religieux*, ii. 132. [2] Christophe, iii. 137. [3] Froissart, vi. 121.

asking them to postpone the election of a new Pope until they received an official communication to be despatched as soon as possible. In Germany also the death of Pope Clement was regarded as an opportunity for ending the Schism. The Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz and the Count Palatine of Bavaria [1] wrote to the French King, urging him to have the new election deferred, and promising to use their influence with King Wenzel to end the Schism. The letter of Charles to the cardinals concluded with the assurance that he would leave them absolutely free in their choice of the new Pontiff. The letter was sent off the same evening and it was safely delivered into the hands of the Cardinal of Florence on the morning of the 26th.

The cardinals were then ready to enter into conclave. They could make a shrewd guess at the import of the King's letter, and had no desire to defer the election. If the Schism were to be ended by the recognition of the Pope at Rome, then the cardinals of Clement's obedience expected but little consideration; their careers and prospects were hopelessly blighted. At the same time, they were anxious to avoid the shame and guilt of wilfully and needlessly protracting the Schism. They therefore drew up a solemn engagement in the form of a schedule which each of them was to sign before proceeding to the election. It was to the effect that each one promised on the Gospels to work with all his might for the union, to do and to say nothing to hinder or retard it, to follow loyally, if he became Pope, every profitable way conducing to the union, including the way of cession, if the majority of the actual cardinals judged this means to be desirable. The concluding and important words of the Latin schedule ran as follows:—'*Etiam usque ad cessionem inclusive per ipsum de papatu faciendam, si dominis cardinalibus . . . vel majori parti eorundem hoc pro bono ecclesiae et unionis praedictae videatur expedire.*' [2] Nothing was said as to how the opinion of the cardinals was to be obtained. Pedro de Luna raised objections to the schedule. 'He thinks he is already elected,' said one. 'I do not desire a burden beyond my strength to bear,' answered he, 'but to contradict such rumours, I will take the oath.' He took it; and all the other cardinals, save

[1] Lindner (*H. and L.*), ii. 339.

[2] Ehrle, v. 103.

three, subscribed the obligation. Having thus safeguarded themselves from criticism, the cardinals decided to postpone reading the royal letter until they should have issued from conclave. On the 28th September, at nine o'clock in the morning, they came forth and announced that they had chosen Pedro de Luna, the Cardinal of Aragon, as Pope; he took the name of Benedict the Thirteenth. Perhaps he was influenced in the choice of a title by the recollection of the Cistercian monk, Benedict the Twelfth, who had been noted for his freedom from nepotism and his hatred of simony. Now that the two original Popes had both died and had been succeeded, Urban by Boniface and Clement by Benedict, the Great Schism had entered on a second and more inveterate phase. At the death of Clement the Seventh the alliance between France and the Pope at Avignon came to an end; the new Pope was of a different kidney to the old.

The first rung of the ladder of fame was mounted by Baldassare Cossa when his fellow-countryman, Pope Boniface the Ninth, sent him back in 1392 to Bologna as Archdeacon.[1] He remained there four years. As Archdeacon, Baldassare Cossa occupied the same relation to the University of Bologna as did the Chancellor of the Cathedral to the University of Paris; no promotion to the Doctorate could take place without his consent; the candidates were presented to him, he presided over their examination, he announced the decision of the Doctors and conferred the licence which allowed them to teach not only in Bologna but throughout the world. The position brought with it both dignity and emoluments. Although the Archdeacon was not necessarily an official of the University, but rather an external representative of the Church's authority over the Studium, still, from the year 1270 onwards, the relations between the Archdeacon on the one hand, and the Doctors and the University on the other, had always been most amicable; and the position and influence which he thus obtained account for the allegiance, almost amounting to subservience, which the University of Bologna afterwards, and especially at the time of the Council of Pisa, evinced towards Baldassare Cossa.

[1] Ciaconius, ii. 710, 785.

Alike as a student at the University of Bologna and as its Archdeacon, Baldassare Cossa was able to follow and take a keen interest in the local politics and fortunes of the State; his subsequent career shows the deep and permanent impression which they made upon him. Bologna was the ally of Florence, and Florence was at the head of the opposition to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Lord, and from 1395 Duke, of Milan. Florence, moreover, on the 29th September 1396, entered into alliance with the King of France.[1] Baldassare Cossa was in after years the ally of Florence; with her aid he wrested Bologna from the Visconti, and like her, he too looked for aid to France. While he was a student, and again while he was Archdeacon at Bologna, intermittent war between Milan and Florence continued, and Bologna was throughout the faithful ally of Florence. The Duke usually managed to maintain in the cities of his enemies a party in his own pay and interest. In 1389 a conspiracy was hatched in Bologna in his favour, but it was discovered; and in the same year came the Duke's mortal enemy, Francesco of Carrara, to the city, and was so well received that in 1390 Gian Galeazzo openly declared war against both Florence and Bologna. It was possibly in this war that Baldassare Cossa first took arms and made his name as a soldier. A Florentine speaks thus of him: 'There was much worth in him; for having from his boyhood applied himself to letters, and having worked so that he became not only a celebrated orator and poet, but a good philosopher also, he then turned his mind to other matters, abandoned his studies, and made himself a man at arms, and so comported himself that he was soon esteemed one of the first soldiers of Italy. Being made a captain, on the very first occasion he came successfully out of the trial; and he was victorious in more than one war. But after many expeditions, not being contented with this life, he began to ponder on Church dignities, and aspired to the Papacy.'[2]

It was after Baldassare Cossa had been summoned to Rome

[1] Tartini, ii. 363.

[2] Abridged from Robbia's *Vita di Bartolommeo Valori*, A.S.I., iv. 261. With reference to this extract Creighton (i. 385) says of Cossa that 'it is clear that Florence did not accept the opinion of Constance, and I incline to think that the opinion of Florence was less prejudiced.'

that the Milanese were so severely defeated at Governolo by the troops of Florence under Carlo Malatesta and those of Bologna under Giovanni di Barbiano,[1] that men said that the Florentine general might have brought Gian Galeazzo to his knees had he marched straight on Milan from Mantua.[2] Before that day, it is clear that Baldassare Cossa won much distinction on the field of battle, and that his military virtue and valour were appreciated by his contemporaries. The Florentines more than others were conscious of his worth, for they entreated Pope Boniface subsequently to send him as Papal Legate to Bologna: how should they have been so keenly and deeply impressed with his prowess as a soldier and his genius as a general had these qualities not been exemplified in the war which so nearly concerned them? Be the truth as it may, it is clear that Cossa was early known as a strenuous man of action; as Platina, the librarian of Pope Sixtus the Fourth, says of him, '*Vir fuit bello et armis quam religioni aptior.*'

In 1396 Pope Boniface the Ninth summoned Baldassare Cossa to Rome to be his private chamberlain.[3] The seven years were just closing during which Pope Boniface the Ninth, for fear of the pious cardinals left him by his predecessor, had been ashamed openly to practise simony.[4] Seven of these had now died, and since his first year Boniface had made no additions to the sacred college. He was in no fear of a general council, for in 1391 he had in his encyclical of the 1st March rejected this scheme as sinful.[5] His rival was in difficulty in France. Boniface had a free hand. He now embarked on that course of shameless and unprincipled simony which amassed money for the Church, but which made the Pope's name a byword and a loathing among the nations. Into this, the very worst school of Church government, Baldassare Cossa, as private chamberlain, was initiated, and he, a thorough man of the world, learned his lesson. The Pope would do nothing without being paid for it; he held that a little ready cash was better than a big promise, or, as he phrased it, 'a sprat in the hand was better than a dolphin in the sea.'[6]

[1] Tartini, ii. 381. [2] Hoefler, 107. [3] Mur. iii. 854.
[4] *De Schismate*, 130. [5] Hefele, vi. 814. [6] *De Schismate*, 138.

There were three classes of chamberlains surrounding the Pope. The first class were the honorary chamberlains, who neither slept in the palace nor performed any special service. The second were the ordinary chamberlains, who did not sleep in the palace, but who attended the Pope at his retirement and his uprising, who read prayers with him and assisted him in the Mass and Church functions, and who received petitions for him and drafted replies. The third class, who were two or four in number, were the private chamberlains, to whom were intrusted the keeping of the private records, the custody of the treasure, the superintendence of the wardrobe and the medicine chest. These lived in the palace and were naturally more influential with the pontiff than were the others.[1] In his new position the young ecclesiastic soon became both useful and profitable to the Pope, who, like Cossa himself, was a shrewd man of the world and an able ruler of the Church.

The sale of indulgences was then in full vogue. In the year 1300 Boniface the Eighth had granted full remission of sin (*plenissimam omnium suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum*, so ran the Bull) to every penitent man who had made his confession and who visited the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Rome. The number of pilgrims who flocked to the Eternal City was so enormous, and their offerings so profitable, that the period for a Jubilee was reduced from a hundred to fifty years by Clement the Sixth in 1350; and the period was still further reduced to thirty-three years, the length of the life of Christ, by Urban the Sixth, who appointed 1390 to be a year of Jubilee. Urban died, and Boniface, his successor, reaped the fruits of the Jubilee, and Pope Boniface resolved to extend these privileges in the year following to other penitents also. Many had been deterred from the journey by the pestilence which raged in Rome, others by the dangers of the road. Bands of armed men lurked about the roads ready to rob the male pilgrims, and to violate the women and maidens.[2] Hence the receipts were not so great as they might have been. 'If they will not come to us for grace, we will take it to them for payment,' said the avaricious Pope; and he ordained that those who had been unable to travel to Rome, but who made

[1] Schwab, 181.

[2] *De Schismate*, 170.

pilgrimages to certain shrines in Germany, should be admitted to the same indulgences as those who had gone to the Eternal City, provided that they paid into his coffers the expense which the longer journey would have entailed. The scheme met with universal approbation in Germany, and Pope Boniface shared the proceeds of this pious economy with King Wenzel and the Lords of Bavaria and Meissen. But a number of unaccredited agents sprang up, men like Chaucer's Pardoner with his 'pigges-bones' and his 'pilwe-beer,' who practised frauds on the credulity of the ignorant rustic and burgher, and who rendered no account of their gains to any man. It was necessary to put some restraint on these impostors, some of whom were caught and laid by the heels,[1] and this work would naturally fall to the private chamberlain: it was probably Baldassare Cossa who organised the official machinery, thereby putting an end in some degree to much plunder and scandal, and at the same time securing greatly increased gains for the papal treasury.

As the Pope's private chamberlain Baldassare Cossa also kept a careful eye on the bishops scattered through Christendom, warning them when they were likely to be transferred and a crop of first-fruits was to be expected, and also intervening on their behalf with the Pope to prevent changes of dioceses which the incumbents deprecated. For these services he naturally received gratification; and he has been accused by his inveterate enemy [2] of uttering the warning and pocketing the gratification when there was no other cause for apprehension save in his own imagination. It is true that in later life he was sufficiently wealthy; but large fortunes were habitually made in the Curia in those days, and what the Italians earned they saved. The higher orders among the German clergy had the reputation for liberality and for keeping open house, whereas the Italians from the cardinals downward were known to be parsimonious, penurious, and thrifty. Baldassare Cossa personally spent his money freely when occasion demanded, and could at no time be justly accused of avarice.

Among the most important visitors to the court of Pope

[1] *De Schismate*, 120. [2] Hardt, ii. 341.

Boniface the Ninth, soon after the arrival of Baldassare Cossa, was John of Nassau, the great-grandson of the Emperor Adolf of Nassau. On the 19th October 1396 Conrad, Archbishop of Mainz, had died; and John of Nassau was a candidate for the post which his elder brother Adolf, the sturdy archbishop who could 'bite like a wolf,' had held until his death in 1390. King Wenzel, however, favoured the claims of Joffrid of Leiningen, whom he represented as able to do much toward ending the Schism; he was very urgent that his nominee should meet with the papal support. Archbishop Frederic of Cologne also favoured the claims of his nephew Joffrid. On the other side was Rupert, surnamed the Clem, the future king; and also the Florentines. The chapter made over the responsibility of the election to a committee of five, who chose Joffrid. There was, however, more than a suspicion of simony; fifty or sixty thousand golden gulden are said to have changed hands. John of Nassau understood that money to be expended could be more profitably employed at the fountain-head; simony was permissible to the Pope if to no one else, for all the wealth of the Church was his, and he only received his own; John took over the debt of his two predecessors, and paid seventy thousand [1] golden gulden to the Pope before he left Rome. He was appointed Archbishop of Mainz, and so became senior Elector of the Empire, an electorship in which he played a most important part in the history of Germany. While at Rome he made the acquaintance of Baldassare Cossa, and the two men remained close friends and partisans ever after. There was much that was congenial in their dispositions; both were men of the world, both were soldiers rather than churchmen, both were able and ambitious.

While Baldassare was at the court of Boniface at Rome, there came the news one day that two of his brothers, who had continued their old piratical life, had been captured by the men of King Ladislas and had been condemned to death and to confiscation of all their goods. Cossa, with much difficulty, got the Pope to intervene, and Ladislas consented to spare the lives of the two pirates, but he put them in prison and kept them there: this was the first black score in

[1] Lenfant, i. 302.

the mutual account of Baldassare Cossa and King Ladislas of Naples.

In Naples the cause of the boy Ladislas had meantime been taken up by his mother Marguerite, who had, with a woman's presentiment, bitterly opposed her husband's departure for Hungary, and who now fought manfully for her son. The rebels of the Anjou party, to which the family of Baldassare Cossa belonged, besieged the Queen in her capital; the Neapolitans threw off her yoke and proclaimed a council; Marguerite, with her son and daughter, shut herself up in Gaeta. On the 5th September she married young Ladislas to Constance of Sicily for the sake of her dowry. In the next year Pope Boniface recognised Ladislas as a 'true son of the Church,' and sent a cardinal legate to Gaeta to crown him King; but at the same time Louis of Anjou appeared, took possession of Naples, and received from many of the barons the oath of fidelity. War began. Marguerite with tears and entreaty recommended her son's cause to the faithful adherents who remained to her, and a long period of storm and stress ensued. Young Ladislas grew up in the midst of civil war, in an atmosphere of intrigue and dissimulation; his trouble and humiliation taught him to be a consummate deceiver and a ferocious tyrant.[1] Shrewd and clever, he was a stranger to probity and honour. As soon as his father-in-law lost his wealth and power, Ladislas divorced his wife, and married Marie de Lusignan, daughter of the King of Cyprus. But with all his faults he was not so alien to the people as was Louis of Anjou; Ladislas was indeed popular with Neapolitans;[2] his talent and valour won him partisans; and in 1399 the local barons of Orsini and San Severini passed under his standard. He was a man full of ambitious projects, but lacking in perseverance; he pursued his plans for a time, and then cast them aside. He was unboundedly sensual; he would quit the field of battle to indulge his brutish appetite. But, spite of all, he gradually won his way to power. Louis of Anjou, who was besieged at Tarento, was obliged to capitulate. The like fate befell his brother Charles, who was besieged in the Castello dell' Ovo, the 'Castel of the sorcerer

[1] Raumer, 189. [2] Mur. xix. 921.

Vergil,' known aforetime as the Lucullanum, where the body of Severinus was laid, 'that remarkable island or peninsula which juts out from the shore of modern Naples between the Chiaja and the Military Harbour.'[1] Both brothers were compelled to resign their fortresses to the troops of Ladislas and to retire to Provence. Thus at the close of the century Ladislas was undisputed King of Naples, although the claims of Louis, Duke of Anjou, were not resigned but were merely in abeyance. In person Ladislas was a tall, straight, well-built man, solemn of aspect and not very beautiful to look upon; with light eyes and long red hair, arched eyebrows and a hooked nose, his pale face flushed at times with anger or greed; in character he was faithless, cruel, and unchaste; he was liberal to his troops; he dressed like a sloven, ate ravenously, and drank copiously of strong, undiluted wine; he stammered somewhat in his speech.[2] He meant to be King of Rome; later on he aspired to the crown of all Italy, and dreamed of becoming Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

While he was private chamberlain at the court of Boniface the Ninth, the future Pope John the Twenty-third met the man who has done more than any other to blacken his name with posterity.[3] Belonging to the town of Nieheim, in the diocese of Paderborn, born somewhere between 1338 and 1348, Dietrich of Niem had wandered to Naples and to Sicily before he came to Avignon, where about the year 1370 he obtained employment in the Curia as an auditor's clerk or notary. Here he met the future Pope Urban, who, after they had made the perilous voyage to Rome together on the return of Gregory the Eleventh, became his fast friend, and who was able in 1378 to promote him to the post of Abbreviator and Scriptor. The two offices were often held together. The Abbreviatores, who at this time were more than a hundred in number, were the clerks under the Vice-Chancellor of the Curia, who prepared the minutes, while the Scriptores made the fair copies of papal Bulls and briefs. The emoluments were large, and the Scriptores had the picking of vacant benefices, of which they were allowed to hold four apiece. Dietrich, however, had his

[1] Hodgkin, iii. 191. [2] Mazella, *Le Vite dei Re di Napoli*, 194.
[3] Erler, 340.

finger in no less than eleven,[1] although he was obliged under the rules to vacate them and his office in the Curia while he held the bishopric of Verden (1395-1400). As a bishop Dietrich was an utter failure, and he spent the last two years, before he was removed by the Pope for his incompetency, at the court of Rome, pushing his claims there. Although under Pope Innocent the Seventh Dietrich again obtained an appointment as Abbreviator, he thereafter received no important preferment, and was a soured and disappointed man. When, in describing his own personal part in a quarrel between Urban the Sixth and his cardinals, he found it impossible to be fair and to tell the whole truth,[2] when he paints the characters of Boniface the Ninth and Gregory the Twelfth in the darkest colours, concealing all their virtues and magnifying their faults, it is little wonder that his picture of Baldassare Cossa is disfigured by the bitterest party spirit. It must have been gall and wormwood to him, while vainly endeavouring to promote his own interest and while he was himself passed over in the papal Curia,[3] to see the brilliant young Neapolitan, twenty or thirty years his junior, promoted to a post of confidence and power; and in 1415, when Pope John had fallen on evil times, when every one was ready to believe anything, whether true or false, sufficiently bad about him, Dietrich von Niem had his revenge. In the midst of his own disappointment and failure it soothed him to describe the events of a troublous time in the most lurid colours, blackening all the shadows and exaggerating all the iniquities. He had a bad word for every one, but he was the special enemy of Cossa.[4] He adopted all the scandals told by Johannes de Thomariis without investigation, and entered them all to the count of Baldassare Cossa, and this although he had five years earlier presented to him a tractate, *De bono Romani Pontificis regimine*, in which he expressed his respect and gratitude.[5] He has blackened the character of Baldassare Cossa so outrageously and falsely that his malice has defeated his own ends, and the word of Dietrich von Niem against John the Twenty-third is not now believed where it is not

[1] Erler, 76. [2] *Ibid.* 76-7. [3] Hunger, 14.
[4] Ciaconius, ii. 791. [5] Hunger, 12; Erler, 341.

corroborated by other evidence. German scholars of the present day, with the exception of Blumenthal,[1] scout the unsupported assertions of Dietrich von Niem.

Among other sins, Niem accused Baldassare Cossa of simony and of gross unchastity. Simony is a very wide term; and what to an Observantine Franciscan would appear simony was to the bishops, cardinals, and popes of mediæval times matter of daily usage. Pope John the Twenty-third did not introduce the system, nor did he extend it; he found it in practice and utilised it for the needs of the Curia. Every one admitted that simony existed in the Church, and that it was rampant at Rome; and every truly religious man desired a reformation in this respect. As regards the charge of sensual immorality, it must be remembered that chastity was not then a virtue greatly in vogue, that the moral feeling in Italy was lower than in other countries, and that most of the mighty ones of the earth were monsters of immorality. That there was any ground for such a scandal as that recounted by the atrabilious, vindictive Teuton[2] is so improbable, that even Gregorovius laughs at it,[3] and we have only the unsupported word of Niem himself for its existence, and he mentions it merely as rumour. He says: '*Et aliquando etiam publice dicebatur Bononia, anno primo Pontificatus dicti Balthasaris tunc Papae, postquam Bononienses sibi rebellarunt, quod ipse ducentas maritatas, viduas & virgines, ac etiam quam plures moniales, illic corruperat, ejus ibidem dominio perdurante.*'[4] The Bolognese were not men to put up with treatment of this kind; but seeing that there are contemporary histories of Bologna, and not one of them knows aught of any such scandal, the charge may be at once dismissed as an unfounded calumny. One of Cossa's best friends, and one of his greatest enemies, bear alike witness, though indirect, to the comparative purity of his life. Carlo Malatesta, an upright and honourable man, was a friend of Baldassare Cossa; he respected him, and even when in later years at Constance he bore witness against him, he never said anything tending to accuse him of sensuality. Pope Gregory the Twelfth, on the

[1] Brieger, xxi. 488 *et seq.*
[2] Salembier, *Le grand Schisme d'Occident*, 276.
[3] Gregor. vi. 614.
[4] Hardt, ii. 339.

other hand, was one of Cossa's worst and most inveterate enemies; he fulminated a Bull against him, in which he enumerated every charge known to him against Cossa, but he also never accused him of immorality. The evidence of these two men far outweighs that of Niem. Furthermore, all the Popes for more than a century back, with the single exception of Clement the Sixth, had been men of clean lives; and it is in the highest degree improbable that Cossa would ever have worn the triple crown had he been the prodigy of sensuality described by Dietrich von Niem.

The character of the future Pope was judged differently and far more accurately by others of that time and of the age succeeding. The *Religieux de Saint Denys* describes him as '*virum utique nobilem et expertum in agendis.*'[1] Platina says that Baldassare Cossa 'was a man to oppose usurpers or such as encroached upon the church-revenues. Yet there was more of rusticity, boldness, and worldliness in him than his profession required. He led a military life, and his manners were soldier-like, and he took the liberty of doing many things not fit to be named.'[2] The best-known verdict on his character and the most truthful is that given by a man who knew him well, Leonardo of Arezzo, who styled him '*vir in temporalibus quidem magnus in spiritualibus nullus omnino atque ineptus.*'[3] An eminently sane modern historian says of him that he was 'not indeed the moral monster his enemies afterwards endeavoured to represent him, but he was utterly worldly-minded and completely engrossed by his temporal interests, an astute politician and courtier, not scrupulously conscientious, and more of a soldier than a churchman.'[4] Pastor quotes Hergenroether, Reumont, and Hefele in his support of this view; Finke and others might be added to the list. When he was at Bologna, Baldassare Cossa was an orator, poet, and philosopher; when he took up the trade of war, he proved himself a man of intelligence, courage, and energy; and it was undoubtedly his virtue as a man of war, as a man of resource and action, that marked him out for promotion by Pope Boniface the Ninth.

[1] *Religieux*, iv. 324.
[2] Platina, 342.
[3] Mur. xix. 927.
[4] Pastor, i. 91.

# CHAPTER V

## THE WAY OF CESSION

'HERESIES and Schisms,' says Francis Bacon, 'are of all others the greatest scandals: yea, more than corruption of manners.' Such was also the belief of the average Christian man at the end of the fourteenth century. States and institutions might regard the Schism merely as it affected their own private interest; but the universal consensus of popular opinion ran that it was necessary in some way to put an end to the accursed Schism. The French court and the University of Paris alike rejoiced at the news of the election of Benedict the Thirteenth; they believed that in matters of Church government and taxation he would be as complaisant as Clement the Seventh, and that he would be willing to end the disruption in the Church by abdication if required. There were at that time in matters ecclesiastical three distinct parties in France:[1] there was the Court, which regarded the Church as an institution which, with the sanction of the Pope, provided revenue for the King's expenses and benefices for the King's servants; there was the Gallican Church, which desired to pay as little as possible either to King or Pope in the way of taxation, and to pay nothing at all except with its own consent; which desired further that all benefices when vacant should be filled by the ordinaries. In the third place there was the University of Paris, the theological school *par excellence* of Christendom, the guardian of orthodoxy, which saw the need for internal reform in the Church, although rather in matters financial than moral. But the University depended on the Pope to provide benefices for its Masters. The ordinaries, lay and clerical, had too

[1] Reinke, 7 *et seq.*

many dependants and followers to allow of their presenting a man to a benefice simply because he was the fittest man for the work; fitness, indeed, never entered their thoughts. The system of promotion was the same to the higher as to the lower posts in Holy Church. 'The idea of making a man a bishop or archdeacon on account of his zeal, his energy, his success in the humble round of parochial duty, is one which would hardly have occurred to sensible men in mediæval times'; nor was the case different in the presentation to benefices. Hence it came about that the most corrupt Popes were better patrons of learning than were the Gallican bishops. The fact that 'the *carrière ouverte aux talens* should have been secured by the system of Provisions is a striking example of the indirect utilities which were often bound up with the most indefensible and most corruptly intended of papal usurpations.'[1] Such were the three parties in Church politics in France. Pope Benedict, on the other hand, by no means looked on himself as Secretary of State in the ecclesiastical department to the King of France; he took a lofty and a fitting view of his high position; he regarded himself as representing and entrusted with the interest of the Church Universal; and as this interest did not correspond in his view with that of any of the three parties named, it followed that if he were not willing to give way there must needs be friction.

Pope Benedict the Thirteenth is one of the most mysterious and fascinating figures of the period with which we are dealing. He was sixty-six years of age when elected; a short, neat, handsome little man, sprung from a noble family of Aragon; Roderigo de Luna was his brother, the Cardinal of Pampeluna was a near relative. He had been Professor of Canon Law in the University of Montpellier; he had all the logical instinct of a keen chancery lawyer; he looked to the letter of the law, and was careful of nice verbal distinctions. He was an eloquent and successful diplomatist; he had won the obedience of Castile for his predecessor in 1380, that of Aragon in 1387, that of Navarre in 1390; he had been deputed to Portugal; he had pleaded for Clement in Paris in

[1] Rashdall, i. 534.



Pope Benedict the Thirteenth.

1394; twice had he bearded the dreaded Duke of Lancaster. He had originally done much to secure the election of Pope Urban the Sixth; he had been reluctant to break with him; he had gone to Agnani with the intention of serving him, but the arguments of the French cardinals, coupled with the ingratitude and misconduct of Urban, had decided him, and he became the most fervent supporter of Clement the Seventh.[1] He was a man of blameless moral life; Nicolas de Clamanges speaks of his sanctity and love of contemplation; Froissart says that he was 'an holy manne and of good lyfe.'[2] He possessed a powerful magnetic influence which worked on those of vivid imagination and chivalrous devotion; hence he gained for himself the affection of characters so diverse in other respects as Catharine of Siena and Louis of Orleans, and of reforming churchmen such as Pierre d'Ailly and Nicolas de Clamanges: these all believed in him and trusted him. Had his lot been cast in quieter times, he would have been esteemed for his Church governance, for he hated simony and corruption; he was fully conscious of his own good intentions, and was possessed of inflexible energy in attempting to carry out his designs. He had his own pet scheme for ending the Schism, and in judging him it is necessary to remember that he was never allowed an opportunity of putting it into practice. He was a man of great personal dignity, a past master in the arts of diplomacy and persuasion, but he had the defects of his virtues. His logic was apt to degenerate into fine-drawn craft, his pride and firmness into perverse obstinacy.

Pope Benedict was too shrewd to break off at once without further warning the policy of his predecessor; he allowed the existing fiscal arrangements to continue for the time; he sent ambassadors to speak comfortably to the royal princes. But it was inevitable that a struggle should come. Benedict represented the old spirit of the Church universal, France represented the modern spirit of the national or Gallican Church; the French court represented that of a Church prostituted to the uses of the State. All the leading churchmen of France were Gallicans. The Gallican Church had taken root in the time of Saint Louis and Philip the Fair;

[1] Gardner, 272.

[2] Froissart, vi. 121.

it had begun to flourish and grow strong in the time of the captivity at Avignon; it was now a living, though not a recognised, institution, protected more especially by the Duke of Burgundy.[1] The threat of Urban the Sixth to swamp the French cardinals with Italians, and so to alter or reform the sacred college, had doubtless not been without influence on Charles the Fifth when he embraced the cause of the rival Pope. Clement the Seventh, in his government of the French Church, had been more subservient to the French court than were any of the Popes during the Captivity. He had regularly exploited the Church for the benefit of himself, of his cardinals, and of the court. In his collation to bishoprics he regarded only the fact whether the incumbent was, or was not, likely to be pleasing to the French King; if he were a *persona grata* at court, then any disqualification of age or capacity or worth was overlooked. The Pope even went so far as to place several bishoprics and 750 benefices at the King's absolute disposal. The Doctors of the University of Paris he naturally held in the utmost contempt; theologians, he said, were merely dreamers. He did his best to ruin the Church of France.[2] The policy of Clement was hateful to Pope Benedict, who had the interest of the Church at heart; and this explains his conflict with the French court; it explains also his conflict with his own cardinals, most of whom were Frenchmen and steeped in simony. The very virtues of the new Pope were fatal to smooth working between him and the court or the college.

The royal princes soon discovered that Benedict meant to be absolute ruler of the Church within his obedience. Although he was personally hostile to Simon de Cramaud, whom he had balked of the cardinal's hat which Clement the Seventh desired to send to the Duke of Berri's chancellor, still the new Pope was universally believed to be in favour of the 'way of cession.' To a deputation of the University of Paris, sent to congratulate him on his accession, he remarked, using a simile of his predecessor, that he could abdicate as easily as he doffed his cope.[3] On the day of his coronation he wrote to King Charles announcing his intention to work with him for the unity of the

[1] Kehrmann, 5, 23. [2] *Religieux*, i. 694. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 206.

Church. The King was delighted. He consulted the Carthusians and the Celestines as to the best way of ending the Schism; he held a council of the French clergy; he addressed himself to the saintly Jean de Varennes, who was emulating the fame of Peter of Luxemburg. It was agreed upon that the 'way of cession' was the best and readiest method of solving the difficulty. Meantime Charles sent Pierre d'Ailly to Benedict with his congratulations; the reformer had an interview with the Pope, and remained his devoted adherent from that day.

Shortly after this the Pope sent two ambassadors to King Charles, desiring his counsel; he followed this up by sending two further envoys, asking that no plan might be definitely concluded, but that that which was proposed might be sent to him for final determination. He did not want to have any 'way' forced upon him; he desired, in conjunction with the King of France, to concert some plan for the termination of the Schism. This was the attitude which the Pope assumed towards the French court; it was frank and reasonable. Even if Charles believed Benedict to be in favour of the 'way of cession,' it was clear that the Pope did not mean to waive his right to discuss the plan first, if necessary; and it is plain that whatever plan might be proposed, there were numberless details to be decided before it could be finally adopted.[1] The Pope, in fine, merely asked the King for a pious opinion; but Charles gave him more than he asked for: he sent him a cut-and-dried scheme. The affairs of the Church were apparently to be managed not by the Pope, but by the French court. The King had convoked a council of the national Church on Candlemas Day, 1395; and the great majority had been in favour of the 'way of cession.' The same plan for ending the Schism had been approved by the University of Paris, which had, moreover, especially discouraged the 'way of a council.' The learned Doctors had no desire that measures of importance should be referred for decision to the little Italian bishops, ignorant of law, but infinite in number, of whom, it was feared, the majority of a general council would be composed. Thus began the strife

[1] Ehrle, v. 407; Jarry, 129.

between the Pope at Avignon and the University of Paris; the Pope tried to deprive members of the University of their benefices, and the University in 1396 appealed to the 'next sole, true, orthodox, and universal Pope.'

Benedict the Thirteenth was a Spaniard, and the French court made common cause against him with the canon lawyers of the University of Paris. King Charles determined to send to Avignon an imposing embassy. He despatched his two uncles, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, and his brother, the Duke of Orleans, with a large train of councillors, prelates, and delegates, as ambassadors to Pope Benedict. It was indeed a grand embassy, reflecting the greatest honour on the potentate to whom it was sent. The Duke of Burgundy had long been known as an advocate for the union of the two obediences; his Flemish subjects had taught Philip the Bold to regard Urbanists with impartiality and without disfavour. Jean, Duke of Berri, the eldest of the King's uncles, born in 1340, had been a personal friend of Pope Clement, but had veered round to his brother's opinions; a dilettante grand seigneur rather than a politician, a collector of curiosities, a lover of sumptuous edifices and fine frescoes, a lover also of truffles and of the hounds and bears of Auvergne,[1] Jean, Duke of Berri, had proved himself ruthlessly cruel and exacting as an administrator and hopelessly incapable as a statesman. The Duke of Orleans had his own private dream of a kingdom in Northern Italy to which Pope Benedict might help him; he soon became an open adherent of the new pontiff. The delegates of the University of Paris were members of the more violent party led by Simon de Cramaud, Patriarch of Alexandria and Chancellor to the Duke of Berri, who coveted the tiara for himself; the more moderate party of D'Ailly and Gerson were comparatively powerless.

The embassy reached Avignon on the 22nd May. The Pope had already taken counsel with his cardinals, and had decided that the way of discussion was the better and more reasonable. He took an early opportunity, in the presence of the cardinals, of informing the King's ambassadors of his plan, known as the 'way of convention,' whereby he and his

[1] Siméon Luce, *La France pendant la Guerre de cent ans*, i. 212 *et seq.*

sacred college were to meet the rival Pope and his cardinals in some secure place under the protection of the King of France, in order to discuss the matter and to find some means of ending the Schism. On the 1st June a great meeting of the embassy with the Pope and his cardinals was held. Gilles des Champs discoursed on the manifest advantages of the 'way of cession,' and the Duke of Berri formally announced that this was the scheme to which the King of France had given his adherence. The Pope's advice was not asked; he was simply told that he, a Spaniard, was to abdicate at the bidding of the French King. Benedict the Thirteenth was not a man to be driven against his will; he asked to be favoured with a written memoir showing the reasons which had induced His Grace to come to this conclusion, and the method which he proposed to adopt to secure its fulfilment. To this the royal dukes replied that there was no need for a written memoir, since the whole could be summed up in the one word Abdication. It was the grossest mistake on their part to adopt this bullying tone with Pope Benedict. He did not believe in the 'way of cession'; it had never been adopted heretofore; it was impossible to procure the simultaneous abdication of the rival Popes. He informed the royal dukes that so important a matter, affecting the interest of the universal Church, could not be settled in that brusque fashion, and that he personally would do nothing under compulsion.

That same evening the dukes assembled the cardinals at Villeneuve and required of them forthwith their real opinions. This tampering with the sacred college might, and indeed did, procure an overwhelming majority in favour of the 'way of cession,' but it was not a majority obtained in this questionable manner that Benedict had contemplated in the oath which he had taken both before and after he was elected pontiff. He refused to recognise the opinion so obtained. He held private conferences with the dukes; he reproached the cardinals with their feebleness and treachery, telling them that he was their master, responsible to God alone; but all his efforts were in vain; the embassy and the majority of the cardinals were alike in favour of the 'way of cession.' The proposal of the 'way of convention'

was scouted, and not even discussed; nor was the suggestion, known as the 'way of compromise,' that each Pope should appoint the same number of arbitrators and be bound by the votes of a two-thirds majority. Pope Benedict was ready to be burned alive rather than accept the 'way of cession.'

When the negotiations had reached this unsatisfactory stage the wooden bridge between Avignon and Villeneuve caught fire. The Pope was at once suspected of the arson. He declared his innocence, and provided a bridge of boats; but the wind made the passage precarious, and the dukes were obliged to cross the Rhone from Villeneuve to Avignon, and to content themselves with the houses which the cardinals placed at their disposal. For seven weeks did the negotiations continue; at the end of that time the three royal princes returned baffled to Paris. Their mission had been a total failure, and the King's uncles never forgave Pope Benedict the humiliation they had endured.

The advantages of the conflict lay with the Pope. He had gained over Duke Louis of Orleans to his side, and had made an agreement with him in August. The Duke, like his uncles, had been in favour of the policy of abdication; he still remained in favour of it, but was determined that Benedict should abdicate of his own free will, and should not be forced into abdication. Henceforth there was bitter enmity between the King's brother of Orleans and his uncle of Burgundy; and there was a split in the University. The Picards and the Normans followed the lead of Burgundy; the French nation exhibited warm sympathy with the Duke of Orleans.[1] Benedict made Nicolas de Clamanges his secretary and librarian; he promoted Pierre d'Ailly to the bishopric of Du Puy. The future Bishop of Cambrai, to which see he was promoted soon after, was succeeded as Chancellor of Nôtre Dame by Jean Gerson, a protégé of the House of Burgundy,[2] thirteen years the junior in age of D'Ailly, but already one of the most influential and at the same time one of the most moderate ecclesiastics of France. The Duke wanted Gerson to take also the post of King's confessor, which D'Ailly had vacated, but being anxious to avoid court intrigues he declined, and

[1] Bess, 30-31. [2] Schwab, 267.

it was bestowed on Jean Courtecuisse, an out and out advocate of the Burgundian policy of subtraction of obedience. Gerson's view of the situation was eminently politic and far-seeing. He represented the Faculty of Theology in opposition to the Faculty of Canon Law, at the head of which stood Simon de Cramaud. He held that it was better to postpone all consideration of the way of cession until the other nations of Europe had been consulted, that it was unwise to enforce the way of cession in France alone, that the plan lost all its advantages unless it was adopted by the countries of both obediences simultaneously.[1] The opposition to him in the University was so great that he determined to leave Paris, and for four years he remained at Bruges as Dean, although the Duke of Burgundy, unwilling to lose altogether the services of so eminent a divine, persuaded him to retain the Chancellorship of the University. Gerson complied, but remained an opponent of the extremist party.

There were other manifestations also in favour of Pope Benedict. While the royal embassy was still at Avignon, the Dominican friar Azo published a tractate in defence of the Pope, in which he styled the University of Paris a daughter of the devil, a mother of error, an enemy of the Holy Roman Church. The University of Toulouse was energetic on the side of Benedict; the University of Oxford had condemned the proposed 'way of cession.' But although the Pope had gained adherents among those churchmen who were not prepared at once to proceed to extremities, he must have known that it would be open war henceforth between himself and the French court, or at any rate between himself and that part of it which was represented by the powerful Dukes of Burgundy and Berri. Their tactics had undergone a complete change since they had a stiff-necked Spaniard to deal with instead of the complaisant Clement. Benedict, as the Archbishop of Reims said, 'came from the country that the good mules came from'; he was tenacious of purpose and inflexible. Nor was he to blame. He had other countries besides France in his obedience, and must take thought also

[1] Schwab, 140.

for their spiritual interest. He had no guarantee that the King of France would be able to procure the abdication of the Pope at Rome. If Benedict resigned and Boniface did not follow his example, even then the Schism would not terminate with the universal acceptance of Boniface as the true and only Pope, for there was very little doubt that after a decent interval of time the French court would procure the election of another Pope more subservient than Benedict. This was his belief; he made no secret of it; on the contrary, he published it in various courts.[1] The use of compulsion towards the two claimants of a disputed succession, says Bishop Creighton,[2] was at the best merely a clumsy attempt to cut the knot instead of untying it.

In the year after the failure of the embassy of the royal princes there were two embassies from Rome to Avignon, two also from Avignon to Rome. Boniface was very suspicious: the first envoys from Benedict got no further than Fondi; they were not allowed to enter Rome, being suspected of conspiracy. The second ambassador was the Bishop of Tarazona; he was allowed to enter, but was not permitted to go outside the Vatican. Boniface wished to persuade his rival to efface himself entirely; he knew that France had fallen out with its Pope. Benedict urged that he had been present at the election of Urban, and knew, as did all the other cardinals, that it was null and void; and even if he were to resign, the kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, and France would never obey the Pope at Rome; whereas if the Pope at Rome resigned neither the King of the Romans nor the King of Hungary would raise the slightest objection. The embassies were fruitless; but their interest lies in the fact that Pope Benedict now for the first time proposed that he and his rival should meet and discuss matters and should so find a solution of the difficulty. This plan, the 'way of convention,' was Benedict's favourite scheme; it forms the key to the policy of his pontificate. He was persuaded that if he could meet his rival and could discuss the state of the Church with him, then his own right and his eloquence, either or both, would ensure him the victory.[3] He preferred this

[1] Schwab, 139. [2] Creighton, i. 150. [3] Ehrle, vi. 186.

plan to the 'way of cession,' which was one-sided, or the 'way of a council,' which was dilatory. The plan was certainly plausible. It was far easier to arrange a meeting of the rival Popes, from which probably one would emerge as sole Pope and the other as the first and richest cardinal, than to arrange for a simultaneous abdication to the detriment of both and to the advantage of some third party. A further advantage of this plan was that it would bring the principals face to face and enable them to arrange most matters in dispute speedily and finally. Benedict the Thirteenth had been an ambassador, and knew how much can be effected by a good case and a ready tongue. All through the first fourteen years of his pontificate he endeavoured to inculcate the virtues of the 'way of convention,' but he was never able to put the method to a decisive test.

Charles the Sixth, on learning the failure of the mission, resolved to address the other courts of Europe, and despatched embassies accordingly. He received varied answers. The King of Castile was affronted because action had been taken without consulting him; he was inclined to attribute the change in policy to the fact that the new Pope was a Spaniard.[1] At first he approved the 'way of convention';[2] eventually, however, he became an ardent adherent of the 'way of cession.' Martin, the new King of Aragon, on the other hand, was and remained one of the warmest partisans of his fellow-countryman. In England, despite the King, the University of Oxford and the clergy generally were opposed to the 'way of cession' and in favour of the 'way of a council': so, too, was an assembly held at Aachen. Both England and Germany, however, contemplated a council which should be called and presided over by Pope Boniface, and whose business should be the extrusion of Pope Benedict. Indeed, if a general council were to be convoked, and if it were to consist, as it ordinarily would, of bishops and abbots, then the representatives of the numberless small sees and convents in Italy would swamp those of the much larger but less numerous holdings in the north. The Elector Archbishops, King Sigismund of Hungary, the Dukes of Austria

[1] Hergenroether, ii. 822. [2] Hefele, vi. 847.

and Bavaria, approved the method of simultaneous abdication, but no decisive action could be taken until a conference had been held with the King of the Romans; and Wenzel vacillated, trying to keep in with both Popes. The Germans, said the envoy Pierre Plaoul, could not refute the French arguments, and had nothing better of their own to propose.

The paroxysms of madness to which Charles the Sixth was liable, are the chief cause of that distressing want of continuity which characterises the foreign and ecclesiastical policy of the realm from the year 1392 onwards. The King himself was much more alive to the welfare of France and the welfare of Christendom than were his uncles or his brother, into whose hands his temporary madness threw the conduct of affairs. Each of them had his own private interest to follow. This want of continuity was exemplified when the fresh convocation met. The King himself was mad; the Duke of Burgundy was absent; consequently the conduct of affairs was in the hands of the Duke of Orleans. He was a partisan of Pope Benedict, and was resolved not to push him to extremity. Hence it followed that all that the convocation decided was that another embassy should be sent to Pope Benedict urging him to abdicate. On this occasion, however, France was not to act alone; England and Castile were to unite with her, and the joint embassy was to visit both Popes and to urge each to abdicate.

The Kings of England and France entrusted the letters announcing their embassies to the two Popes to the hands of a Norman squire, Robert le Mennot, commonly known, from his travels in the Holy Land and his visions, as Robert the Hermit. He came to Avignon, and was by Benedict himself entrusted with letters for the rival Pope Boniface. At Rome Robert proposed that both Popes should unite to bring about the peace of the Church, failing which obedience should be subtracted from them. The Roman cardinals suggested that, inasmuch as the French King and cardinals were opposed to Benedict and seemed to be on the point of choosing a new Pope, Boniface should make overtures to them. The Pope, however, would do nothing more than promise to think over and take counsel on the matter. The Hermit offered him a pension of a

hundred thousand ducats a year if he would resign. But the Pope's last words were:—'Robert, I will never cede my rights to any one; you may tell your King so. I would rather never eat or drink more, nay, I would give up my part in heaven.'[1] The only practical result of Robert's mission was that it inclined people, especially when the result of the joint embassy was known, to believe that there had been collusion between the two Popes.

The embassy from the three Kings came to Avignon, and on the 16th June 1397, Gilles des Champs, speaking for the Kings of England, France, and Castile, begged Pope Benedict to adopt the 'way of cession.' The Pope consulted with the cardinals, the majority of whom backed up the request made by the embassy. Benedict, however, replied that the matter had not been properly considered, and that he must take further thought and counsel. He was threatened that, were the union of the Church not accomplished by next Candlemas (2nd February), the obedience of his spiritual subjects would be withdrawn from him. The Pope remained firm; threats were of no avail to make him accept the 'way' of which he disapproved. The embassy went on to Rome, arriving there in September 1397. Here they were milder in their language, but not more successful. Boniface answered them much as Benedict had done; he would promise nothing; he would do nothing without more thought and further counsel. The joint embassy of the three Kings was a failure.

Moreover, at this time Pope Boniface appointed John of Nassau to be Archbishop of Mainz, and while he thus gained a sturdy adherent in the first Elector of the Empire, at the same time he counter-worked the efforts of the French King, who had sent his own representatives and also the delegates of the University of Paris to attend the important Diet which was to be held at Frankfurt. A new move was now in contemplation; the method of neutrality was to be tried; it was deemed that if allegiance were rendered to neither Pope, if the spiritual obedience of their subjects were subtracted from both rivals, and if they were thus threatened with loss of revenue, each would be ready to descend from his throne, to

[1] Hefele, vi. 848; Valois, iii. 122.

accept a rich cardinalship, to prefer a lucrative abdication rather than a pauper reign. It was not an entirely new scheme; it had been proposed and adopted by Henry of Castile[1] at the beginning of the Schism; but now it was to be tried on a grand scale, and with greater hope of success. Jean Courtecuisse pointed out that it was the enjoyment of the loaves and fishes which prevented the Pope from agreeing to the 'way of cession.'[2] The Popes must be reduced to beggary; and beggars could not be choosers.

The Diet of Frankfurt, the importance of which was recognised by every one except the King of the Romans, was convened by the Electors of the Empire and was held on the 13th May 1397. Representatives from both Popes, from the Kings of England, France, Aragon, and Castile, from the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany and the Duchess of Brabant, were present, beside more than thirty princes, a large number of counts, and envoys from cities and universities. It was agreed to send ambassadors to the rival Popes, recommending them to abdicate. The Electors, on their part, not recognising the Pope at Avignon, sent only to Pope Boniface; their ambassadors were accompanied by those of the Kings of England, France, Castile, Navarre, and Aragon. They humbly requested the Pope to take thought for the union of the Church. Boniface in reply required them to contemplate the termination of the Schism only through the universal recognition of the Pope at Rome; he asked them to impress on King Wenzel the necessity for his journey to the Eternal City and his coronation there. Furthermore, he pointed out the extension of the French power in Italy to the detriment of the Empire; Genoa had already submitted to France, and Florence was making a treaty with her; while the Electors, by their ambiguous and irresolute conduct, were really aiding the French King and the French Pope. 'I alone am the true Pope,' said Boniface, 'and I will never abdicate.'[3] The Florentines, in an embassy which they sent to the Electors, corroborated what Pope Boniface had said. The new Archbishop of Mainz, and the new Elector Palatine, both ardent

[1] Lindner (*W.*), i. 90; *Religieux*, i. 73, note. [2] *Religieux*, ii. 526.
[3] Tartini, ii. 380.

partisans of Boniface, took up the same parable against King Wenzel: he was the only man who could oppose France effectually, and he had abetted French designs; he had created Gian Galeazzo, father-in-law of the Duke of Orleans, Duke of Milan; he had neglected the interest of the Empire in Savoy, in Flanders, and in Brabant.

The Diet at Frankfurt, although it failed in inducing the rival Popes to do anything toward ending the Schism, had, however, another indirect effect. King Wenzel was at length aroused from his sloth by the revolutionary proceedings of the Electors. He recognised that, whether he would appoint a regent for the Empire or not, he must at any rate do something toward ending the Schism. The Duke of Orleans was in communication with him, desirous of securing for his son the hand of the fair and wealthy Elizabeth of Goerlitz; and Wenzel promised the Duke to meet the French King at Reims. Having made up his mind, neither Pope nor Elector could dissuade him; and on the 28th March 1398 the two Kings met in the old cathedral town. They were a curious couple to settle the affairs of Christendom; both well-intentioned men, but the one a sot, the other a madman. The Dukes of Berri and Bourbon were sent to invite Wenzel to dinner, but they were too late; he was already dead drunk for the day and was sleeping off the effects of his wine. The next day the two Kings met and dined together; with them were the King of Navarre and the Patriarch of Alexandria. The subject of the Schism was broached. The argument of the French was that the plans of a compromise by arbitration or of a general council were uncertain in their operation; that it would not redound to the honour of France to admit a mistake in adhering to Clement nor to the honour of Germany to admit a similar error in her obedience to Urban; that, therefore, the only honourable course for both countries, and the only sure way of ending the Schism, was for France to procure the abdication of Benedict and for Wenzel to procure that of Boniface. The cession of both Popes could be practically enforced by the subtraction of their obedience from them of the countries concerned. On the following day Charles was hurried off to Paris, as a fresh fit of madness was threatening.

Colloquies were continued for three weeks between King Wenzel and the Duke of Orleans; and the Canons of Toul alleged that it was agreed that no person was to be molested for adhering to one Pope rather than the other.[1] Pierre d'Ailly, the new Bishop of Cambrai, was sent from the French and German Kings as joint ambassador to Avignon. He was accompanied by the secretary and the confessor to the King of the Romans.

In addressing the Pope, Pierre d'Ailly was diplomatic to the verge of inconsistency: he said not a word of abdication; he rather continued his discourse of four years earlier, when he had congratulated the Pope on his accession, as if nothing had happened meantime. When he had finished, the two Germans asked Pope Benedict if he would abdicate, and the Pope answered that under existing circumstances it would be a mortal sin.[2] This was the second, but not the last, time that Pope Benedict was pressed by the French court to abdicate without any efficient means being simultaneously taken to procure the abdication of his rival. If he had abdicated, what would have happened? There can be no doubt that Boniface the Ninth, finding himself sole Pope, and with the Jubilee in view, would have refused to lay down his triple crown. What would the French court then have done? Two courses were open to them: they might either have recognised Boniface as sole Pope, or they might, and they probably would, have elected a new Pope; and in this case they would have taken care to get a man elected more after the pattern of Clement the Seventh than was Benedict the Thirteenth. What they wanted was a Pope who would tax the clergy for them, who would 'shear the sheep' closely, and give them most of the wool. Benedict hated simony and would not do this; under him the French clergy were protected from the exorbitant demands of the French court, and this explains why the French King found it so difficult to get the rank and file of the French clergy to follow him in the harsher measures which were proposed from time to time against Pope Benedict. The French court and the canon lawyers who, under Simon de Cramaud, ruled the University of Paris, were of one mind; but the majority of the clergy

[1] Valois, iii. 132. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 135; Tschackert, 102.

and the University of Toulouse were of the opposite. To abdicate would have been to deliver the Church within his obedience up to the ruthless exactions of the French court or to the shameless simony of Pope Boniface. It is small wonder, therefore, that Pope Benedict declared that abdication under the existing circumstances would be a deadly sin. This Pope has been described by a recent writer as 'a man of blameless life, vast learning, great charity, and apparently sincere piety; insensible to moral or physical fear, there was, nevertheless, something mysterious and inscrutable in his bearing and character—a man of upright life and lofty ideals, zealously striving to find where the hidden jewel of truth lay concealed, and to follow where he deemed that the light led.'[1] Whether this description be true in all its details or not, it is certain that the Pope had to contend throughout against the court which should have been his protector, that he had to contend against the majority of his cardinals, whose benefices lay within the territory of that court, and this life of contention naturally hardened his obstinacy and increased his self-conceit. He saw that his opponents were in the wrong, and he came to persuade himself that he alone was, and that he alone could be, in the right.

From Avignon Pierre d'Ailly went to Fondi, where he found Pope Boniface, and thence on to Rome for a Consistory of the cardinals before whom the question of cession was propounded. The cardinals determined that Boniface should not abdicate unless Benedict had previously abdicated. The unsuccessful bishop, who probably had expected no other result from his mission, returned and brought the news to King Wenzel at Coblenz and then to King Charles at Paris.[2] Such is the story as usually told. It is, however, very doubtful whether Pierre d'Ailly went on to Rome from Avignon; the time allowed for the journey certainly seems very inadequate. The probability is that he abandoned his original intention and returned to Coblenz and Paris from Avignon.[3]

Before the Bishop of Cambrai returned to Paris the King of France had already set to work in decided fashion. He

[1] Gardner, 256-7. [2] Tschackert, 102; Salembier, 44; Schwab, 144.
[3] Lindner (*W.*), ii. 511; Valois, iii. 135.

convoked a grand assembly of the clergy of France, to be presided over by the King, the royal princes, and the barons, who thus transformed an ecclesiastical into a national council; and the question for discussion was the policy to be pursued toward the Pope. The council was to deliver itself of a pious opinion which the King could adopt or not as he chose. It was acknowledged by all that a Pope could be deposed for heresy; but the practical question now was whether a Pope who refused or neglected to take measures to heal the Schism, whether a Pope who, in other words, was a persistent Schismatic, was *ipso facto* a heretic, and to be treated as such. This was the point for decision. This was the third council held on the Schism; it was more fully attended than the former two had been. Forty-four archbishops and bishops were present; monasteries, chapters, and universities were represented; upwards of three hundred clerks in all appeared under the presidency of Charles of Navarre, as representing the lunatic King, and in the presence of the Dukes of Berri, Burgundy, Orleans, and Bourbon. The debate was opened by a violent diatribe from Simon de Cramaud, who described the 'way of cession' as being demanded not only by France, but also by the Kings of Hungary, Bohemia, England, Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Sicily; he accused Pope Benedict of perjury, and demanded the subtraction of obedience from him. Other harangues on each side followed. Gilles des Champs alone ventured to doubt whether they could subtract their obedience unless and until the Pope had been condemned by an œcumenical council. After a week of stormy argument, the debate was closed by another harangue from the Patriarch of Alexandria. He described how Benedict had been false to his coronation oath; how he had repulsed his cardinals when they begged him on their knees, with tears in their eyes, to resign; he cited scores of passages from the canon law to show that such obstinacy justified a subtraction of obedience; he cited other passages to prove that such schism was idolatry, that it was equivalent to heresy, that in the time of Alexander the Third it had been adjudged to be heresy. The heated arguments of the orator, who would be the first ecclesiastic in France when the papal authority was removed, the show of

learning and of patriotism of Simon de Cramaud, had their effect. There was no doubt as to the general sense of the council. A majority, nominally of 247 against 53, possibly of not more than forty or fifty,[1] were in favour of the total subtraction of obedience. The royal dukes and the University of Paris approved the more drastic measure of total subtraction, although to this extreme policy a large number of the clergy were hostile or indifferent. It was a serious blow to the papal power in France, an immense strengthening of the Gallican spirit.[2] The King meantime, owing to his illness, had been unable to consider the matter personally; but advantage was taken of his pretended recovery of health to get him to sign, on the 27th July, the decree for the total subtraction of obedience. The clergy then proceeded to arrange for the supplementary details connected with Church governance during the subtraction.

Boucicaut, Marshal of France, and Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai, were sent to carry intimation of these things to Pope Benedict. They rode together to Lyons, where the marshal tarried while the bishop went on. He met the Pope, 'and whan the bysshoppe came to the utteraunce of the mater, howe the Pope shulde resygne and depose hymselfe fro the papall dygnyte, and that he that was at Rome shulde do likewyse, with those wordes the Pope beganne to chaunge colour, and lyfte up his voyce and sayd: "I have endured great payne and traveyle for the churche, and by good election I was created Pope, and nowe to depose myselfe, that shall I never do during my lyfe; and I will that the Frenche Kynge know that for all his ordynaunce I wyll do nothing thereafter, but I will keep my name and papalyte tyll I dye."' The next day there was a Consistory. The cardinals agreed that they could do well enough with the King of Germany if the French King would but take their part; 'but it is otherwyse, for he commaundeth us to obey, or els he wyll stoppe fro us the fruites of our benefyces, without the whiche we can nat lyve.' They therefore counselled abdication. But the Pope was firm. 'The unyon of the Churche I desyre,' he told them, 'and I have taken great payne therin, but syth God of

[1] Valois, iii. 172 *et seq.*

[2] Kehrmann, 78.

his devyne grace hathe provyded for me the papalyte, and that ye have chosen me therto, as longe as I lyve I wyll be Pope, and I wyll nat depose myselfe nouthre for kyng, duke, erle, nor other treatie, nor by no processe nor means, but that I will abyde Pope.' This is the story told by the old chronicler who, in the later years of his life, lived near Cambrai, and may often have conversed with the bishop;[1] but it has been subjected to destructive criticism by Ehrle,[2] and the probability is that the second visit of Pierre d'Ailly in 1398 is a myth. The Marshal's own *Memoirs* know nothing of it. The messengers who brought the resolutions of the third French council to Pope Benedict were Robert Cordelier and Tristan de Bosc.

The ordonnance, signed by the King of France on the 27th July, was published at Avignon on the first day of September 1398. The example of Charles was followed by Besançon on the 30th October, by the Duke of Anjou on the 30th November, by the King of Castile on the 12th December, and by Charles of Navarre on the 14th January. Eighteen of the French cardinals, fearing for their benefices, immediately deserted the Pope and crossed the Rhone into French territory, proclaiming war: 'Long life to the College of Cardinals and the People, Death to Pedro de Luna and his adherents.' From Villeneuve they wrote to the French King, informing him of their submission. Five cardinals remained faithful to Benedict, who was ready to die rather than submit. They were to be besieged in the gloomy papal palace, surrounded by a strong palissade, of which the cardinals kept the keys, but within which the Pope maintained two hundred armed men.[3] There, in the wide, windy plain country on the left bank of the Rhone, where the cypress-trees are planted thick along the hedgerows as a screen from the stormy Mistral, in the Comtât Venaissin, west of Mont Ventoux with its frequent cap of snow and east of the lower spurs of the southern Cevennes, in the city which they had purchased from Queen Joanna the First of Naples, Popes Benedict the Twelfth and Clement the Sixth had built themselves a palace the like of

[1] Froissart, vi. 326-7; Tschackert, 103, note. [2] Ehrle, v. 465 *et seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* vii. 193.

which has never been seen before or since. Founded on a rock, and almost joining the cathedral, the walls rise sheer up, without scroll or fretwork, without buttress or battlement, in unbroken severity to a height of one hundred feet. The building within was ornamented with frescoes, many of which still retain their undiminished beauty, executed by artists of the school of Siena and others; but without, the sombre Gothic architecture gives the palace the appearance rather of a fortress or a prison. It was to serve Pope Benedict in both these capacities. The city walls, begun when the Archpriest was threatening the city,[1] are some miles in circumference; they still remain, with their machicolated battlements, their two score towers, and some of their gates, although the moat which once encircled them has disappeared.

The publication of the ordonnance subtracting the obedience of France from the Pope decided eighteen of his cardinals to break from him. They had been disaffected since 1395; they had won over the city of Avignon to their side; they were in communication with Geoffroi 'le Meingre dit Boucicaut,' the brother of Jean the Marshal, who had been besieging the Count of Perigord. The cardinals were in fear of King Martin of Aragon, the stalwart partisan of his countryman; and when he sent to remonstrate with them, they feared to tell the truth, and set down their proceedings to Benedict's alleged high-handed conduct toward the men of Avignon. The subterfuge profited them nothing, for King Martin sent a fleet which got as far as Arles, and some part of it further still up the river, to the support of Pope Benedict.[2] The galleys were, however, not able to reach Avignon, and the cardinals were in February relieved from this fear. Their hopes were centred in the troops of Geoffroy Boucicaut. On the 22nd September 1398 he occupied the city of Avignon and began the siege of the papal palace. He promised the citizens' wives that they should dance in the palace, but he knew not Benedict the Thirteenth. The Pope had taken his precautions: he had stocked his fortress with provisions, he had furnished it with engines of war, he had defended it with artillery and cross-bowmen; of wood alone he had an insuffi-

[1] Chevrest, *L'Archiprêtre*, 49. [2] Ehrle, vii. 22 *et seq.*

cient supply. The besiegers seized the bishop's palace and the other buildings near; they occupied the belfry of the cathedral immediately north of the papal palace; they fired the wood which had not been taken inside, but left stacked by the wall of the northern tower.

On one occasion the Pope was wounded in the shoulder by a stone from a bombard. On the 24th October Boucicaut treacherously took prisoners two of the Pope's faithful five cardinals who were holding a conference with three of their hostile colleagues; on the 26th he made an attempt to get into the palace by a drain, but the assailants were themselves surprised in the papal kitchen, and more than fifty of them were taken prisoners. Mines and counter-mines were tried, but Boucicaut was defeated by Pope Benedict. At length, on the 24th November, a truce was agreed to. The attack was not renewed, but the state of siege continued: provisions began to run short; the garrison were reduced to salt meat, to dry vegetables, to vinegar and water; cats and rats were greedily devoured, but sparrows were reserved for the Pope's table. It was agreed that the quarrel should be referred to Paris. It was felt to be a public scandal that the Head of the Church should be thus treated. At the end of April 1399 the siege was raised and provisions were once more introduced into the papal palace.

Things had been going very unfavourably for Pope Benedict. The Duke of Orleans had given way; he had in the presence of his uncles and of the prelates declared that after profound reflection he agreed to the view of the council and with the policy of subtraction; that he was ready to use his influence with the King of the Romans and the Duke of Milan.[1] Simon de Cramaud, in a transport of joy, had forwarded this news to the Cardinal of Jerusalem.[2] Cardinal de Thury, the head of the opposition in the Sacred College to the Pope, with two other members, had come to Paris full of threatenings against Benedict. They were ready to declare him heretic; they were ready to convoke a council of their own obedience to depose him, or to take part in a general council of both obediences to proceed against both pontiffs alike.[3] Neither the court nor

[1] Jarry, 439. [2] Ehrle, vi. 287. [3] *Ibid.* vi. 288 *et seq.*

the Parisians were ready to go so fast. The King's chancellor told them that it was the cardinals, and not the King, who were holding their Pope a prisoner for heresy. The three cardinals were insulted in the streets of Paris.

Negotiations commenced between Benedict and the French court. The Pope, after the manner of his time,[1] guarded himself beforehand by a protestation before a notary against any unfavourable concessions which he might be compelled to make; dire necessity was the only excuse for this piece of prudence or duplicity. Benedict was anxious that the Duke of Orleans should be appointed as his protector, and the Duke insisted on knowing the amount of submission which the Pope was ready to guarantee. Ambassadors went to and fro. At length, on the 30th March 1391, it was agreed that Benedict should accept the 'way of cession,' agreeing to abdicate if his rival abdicated, died, or was deposed, '*quod eligatur tertius unicus verus pastor et vicarius Jhesu Christi.*'[2] From the spring of 1399 onward, therefore, Pope Benedict was a prisoner in his own palace; he was not allowed to leave it; for six months it had been his fortress, henceforth it was to be his prison. France at this time was without a pope; the Lord Jesus was their Pope, said the pious, and the Blessed Virgin was their Popess. The city of Liège and the kingdom of France had adopted the policy of subtracting their obedience; with the exception of this solitary city the policy had not been adopted in a single country of the Urbanist obedience; so that the policy of Kings Wenzel and Charles had failed altogether of the desired effect of inducing both Popes to choose a lucrative abdication rather than a pauper reign. The subtraction of obedience had not been adopted in any other country of the Clementine obedience except Castile, so that it had merely produced a schism within the Schism. Moreover, it had failed of its effect in France itself, producing an internal schism in the only country in which it was thoroughly tried. The clergy of Brittany refused to obey their bishops on the ground that the bishops had ceased to obey their Pope. The weary negotiations continued; but time was in favour of the Pope. The charge of the Pope's

[1] Ehrle, vi. 303.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 435.

imprisonment was taken from the man of war Boucicaut, and was on the 18th October 1401 made over to Louis, Duke of Orleans, the King's brother, bound in honour to maintain the custody, but known to be well disposed toward his holy captive. He had already, at the beginning of September, sent Guillaume de Meulhon and Robert de Bracquemont to Avignon for this purpose.[1] They were to try to reconcile the Pope and the recalcitrant cardinals. The endeavours of the former at Villeneuve were repulsed; those of the former at Avignon later took a different and more practical turn. The Pope was left with his five faithful cardinals, chief among them being his relative, the Cardinal of Pampeluna; he had very little to count on in the way of outside help at this time: Gerson was at Bruges from 1398 to 1401; Pierre d'Ailly was at Cambrai from 1400 to 1403.

The close of the fourteenth century was marked by one of those outbursts of popular fanaticism which occasionally occur in times of great sorrow or peril. In the middle of the century the Black Death had seen the revival of the sect of the Flagellants; at the end of the century (1399) appeared the bands of the White Penitents. They swarmed over the Alps into Italy; no one knew precisely whence they came. Five thousand men, women, and children, hooded and clothed in white, many of them bearing the red cross of Saint Andrew on their backs, marched, two and two, to Genoa; they were preceded by an Ultramontane priest, who carried before him a sweating crucifix. The aged Archbishop of Genoa put himself at the head of the band, and for nine days the penitents visited the adjacent shrines, chanting the mournful dirge, *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, and calling on all to be reconciled with their enemies. Processions formed at Genoa went to Lucca and Pisa; thence others passed to Pistoja, to Prato, and to Florence, where the magistrates lodged and fed them at the public expense. From Tuscany the penitents flocked to the Papal States and to Naples; by the year of the Jubilee they had overrun Italy and arrived in Rome. They heard Mass fasting, they ate in public; they disdained the shelter of houses or roofs, but lay down to sleep in cemeteries or

[1] Ehrle, vii. 170.

under the open sky, men and maidens together, with results which were natural but only too sad. These fanatics were regarded with mistrust by spiritual and temporal authorities alike. The Dominican Giovanni, afterwards to be a cardinal, led them to the Church of the Dominicans in Venice, sang the Mass from Jeremiah, and headed the procession to the Church of Saints John and Paul. But the head of the Council of Ten met him with his guards; the cross was torn from the hands of the leader, and the penitents were dispersed; Giovanni was banished from the Republic for five years, and his two help-meets, Leonardo Pisani and Antonia Sozzano, for a year each.[1] Nor did the White Penitents fare better at Rome: Pope Boniface would have none of them; he condemned their processions, imprisoned their leader, and put an end to the sect.[2] Thus in universal sorrow, in the midst of profound trouble both in Church and State, closed the fourteenth century.

It was, as Frederic Barbarossa had said, the special function of the Emperor to put an end to the Schism; but now, to complete the confusion in Christendom, the Schism in the Holy Roman Church was followed by a Schism in the Holy Roman Empire. During the first eleven years of his reign King Wenzel had conducted himself not without energy; but from the year 1389 onwards he had neglected the interests of the Empire, had shut himself up in Bohemia with low-born favourites, and had excited universal discontent and distrust. Schemes for his abdication were discussed; he himself talked of placing a regent over the Empire. His quarrel with the Archbishop of Prague, his disgraceful treatment of that dignitary, his murder of the General Vicar Johann von Pomuk (1393), sent a thrill of horror through the Empire; his creation of Milan into a Duchy, and his raising Gian Galeazzo to be hereditary Duke of Milan and a Prince of the Empire, offended the Electors, who were not consulted, and who received no part of the 200,000 golden gulden paid by the wily Italian (1395). The subservient approach of King Wenzel to the French court, and his dallying with their proposal for the abdication of both Popes, further aroused the utmost opposition in West Germany. Rupert the Second, the father of

[1] Brieger, ix. 244. [2] Mur. xix. 919; Tartini, ii. 408, 424.

Clem, wrote a long letter of expostulation[1] to dissuade the King from his projected journey; but he died on the 6th January 1398, before the meeting at Reims. Rupert the First and Rupert the Third (Clem) both bound themselves to King Richard of England and became his liegemen and pensioners: so, too, did Frederic, Archbishop of Cologne; and their example was followed by many other lesser nobles. These were acts of undisguised hostility to King Wenzel. John of Nassau, the new Archbishop of Mainz, was also his open and bitter foe, and took the opportunity to knit himself in alliance with the Count Palatine, with the Bishops of Bamberg and Eichstadt, with the Burggraf of Nuernberg, the Markgraf of Meissen, the Count of Henneberg, and also with the cities of Nuernberg, Rotenburg, Windesheim, and Weissenburg.[2]

The clouds were gathering thick over Wenzel's head, and his projects to strengthen his own party came invariably to disastrous issue. His attempts to exact an excessive grant from Rotenburg, to back up the citizens of Wuerzburg against their bishop, to increase the number of the imperial cities in Franconia to the prejudice of the nobility, were all alike failures. The four Electors of West Germany and the Elector of Saxony resolved to take action. They proceeded warily, but they had chosen the time for their conspiracy badly. Wenzel was in one of his moods of comparative political activity. He had sent messengers to the Kings of Poland, Hungary, and the Scandinavian kingdoms to meet him in order to discuss the state of Christendom; he intended to assemble a great congress of kings and princes from Germany and other countries, in order, if possible, to put an end to the Schism in the Church.[3] Notwithstanding his meeting with the French King at Reims, there is no reason to believe that Wenzel had abandoned the side of the Pope at Rome. The cardinals there had informed the Pope of the machinations of the Electors, and Boniface had declared himself ready to shed his blood for Wenzel, whom he urged again to undertake the journey to Rome: the King of the Romans was still, to all appearances, on the side of the Pope at Rome. Such was the state of affairs when the Electors met in conference at

[1] Hoefler, 133. [2] *Ibid.* 139. [3] *Ibid.* 160.

Frankfurt on the 26th May 1400. At this point the Elector of Saxony parted company from the others; he was not prepared to give his vote for the new King whom they desired. The other four Electors summoned King Wenzel to appear at Oberlahnstein on the 11th August, there to make answer for his nonfeasances and his misfeasances; they sent copies of this summons to the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg (Jost of Moravia); the latter sent no answer; the former replied that if he did not personally appear, the other Electors were to proceed in his absence, observing their oath to the Holy Roman Empire.

The ostensible reasons which the Electors alleged for King Wenzel's deposition will hardly bear close examination. He was accused of doing nothing to end the Schism, and it was true that he had never gone to Rome to be crowned, and had omitted thereby thus to strengthen the hands of Pope Boniface, but he had met the King of France and had taken measures for a general congress of kings and princes. He was accused of betraying the interests of the Empire in his dealings with Milan and Brabant; but in raising Gian Galeazzo to the Dukedom of Milan he had only followed the precedent set by Louis of Bavaria with Castruccio Castraccani at Lucca, he had recognised an existing fact, and his real sin was that he had not shared with the Electors the bribe paid by the Duke; while in Brabant, the resolution of its Duchess Joanna to leave her lands to her niece Margaret, and her husband Duke Anthony of Burgundy, affected King Wenzel and the house of Luxemburg rather than the Empire. Wenzel was further charged with failing to stop the grievous robberies and the internal war which desolated Germany, an accusation which came with singularly bad grace from the Archbishop of Mainz, who had failed to prevent the imprisonment of an Elector and the slaughter of a Duke by his own people, immediately after the Conference at Frankfurt. Other allegations were made against Wenzel, which affected him only as King of Bohemia and gave no ground for interference with him, or for criticism of him as head of the Empire. His real cause of offence was the attempt to create among the great cities a party favourable to himself and hostile to the Electors and nobles of Germany.

The four Electors of West Germany had, in fact, already prejudged and precondemned Wenzel; their calling on him to appear and answer at Oberlahnstein was a mere solemn farce; the choice of a new King might indeed have been made earlier, had it not been for the Elector of Saxony, who acted to a certain point with the other four, but who favoured the candidature of Frederic of Brunswick. As this Elector, with Frederic and others, were on their way home after the Conference at Frankfurt, they were suddenly attacked near Fritzlar by an armed band under Count Henry of Waldeck, and Frederic and several of his companions were killed, while the Elector and others were taken prisoners. This foul murder inaugurated the choice of a new King. The Archbishop of Mainz solemnly denied all complicity in the bloody deed, but Henry of Waldeck was the husband of the archbishop's sister, Joanna of Nassau,[1] and the assassins were the archbishop's men. On the 20th August 1400, the four Electors at Oberlahnstein declared King Wenzel deposed; on the next day the three archbishops, John of Nassau of Mainz, to whom the Count Palatine had entrusted his vote, the half-idiotic Archbishop of Trier, and Frederic of Cologne, crossed the Rhine, and at the Koenigstuhl at Rense they proclaimed the Count Palatine Rupert the Third (nicknamed Clem) to be henceforth King of the Romans. They had previously communicated with Pope Boniface, but he had returned no decisive answer; he knew, and was justifiably angry with Wenzel for entertaining the proposition of his deposition, but he did not dare to take a step which would infallibly lose to his obedience the three large kingdoms of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. The action of the archbishops produced the Schism of the Holy Roman Empire; and with this Schism an accomplished fact, with the rival Popes refusing to meet or to entertain seriously any project for ending the disunion of the Church, with the two bodies of their cardinals similarly each profoundly distrustful of the other, there seemed but little hope of a speedy end to the Great Schism.

Rupert, who had thus been proclaimed King of the Romans by the three Archbishops of the Rhine and by his own vote,

[1] Huebner, tab. 255.

was one of the best intentioned and most ineffective kings who had ever been called to rule that troublous Empire. From the date of his election it was at once his fault and his fate never to accomplish thoroughly any great project which he undertook. The first task which lay before him was to make himself undisputably the sole King in Germany. He could not get himself crowned at Aachen; the ceremony was performed at Cologne. In 1401 he started to subdue Wenzel; all appearances favoured his success, but he allowed a war of weapons to degenerate into a war of parchments; he entered into negotiations with his adversary, frittered away the time uselessly, failed to gain his end, and left Wenzel to be a thorn in his side and the centre of discontent for the rest of his reign. This fatal mistake, this neglect to appeal in ancient fashion to the God of Battle, meant that Rupert was acknowledged as King only over the western half of the Empire, and that there was henceforth to be a Schism in the State in addition to the Schism in the Church. The one Schism intensified the other; it was the duty of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire to heal the Schism in the Church; but so long as there were two Kings of the Romans, it was impossible that the Schism could be healed in orthodox fashion. Some feeble attempts he did make in the first year of his reign. A Diet was held at Metz, at which it was proposed that Pope Boniface should be universally recognised, and should then hold a council; failing which, the King of the Romans was to call a council.[1] A Diet was also held at Nuernberg, at which, according to Simon de Cramaud, it was proposed that a third Pope should be elected by the cardinals of both obediences, a suggestion which was not very likely to find favour with the new King of the Romans.[2] As a matter of fact, Rupert was unable to do anything towards healing the Schism in the Church until he had first made his own position secure. It was a case of 'Physician, heal thyself.'

The Schism in the Empire naturally marked, if it did not intensify, the divergence of parties through Europe. The upstart King Rupert at once allied himself with the upstart King of England, Henry of Lancaster, and sought the hand of

[1] Hoefler, 204. [2] Ehrle, vii. 156.

Henry's daughter Blanche, for his son Louis. In France, the side of the new King was naturally embraced by the Queen, Isabel of Bavaria, daughter of Duke Stephen of Bavaria, belonging to the younger branch of the Wittelsbach family; the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri sided with the Queen, and the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were against them; the sympathies of Charles, when he was sane, were probably with his brother.[1] In Spain the King of Castile remained faithful to Wenzel, but the King of Aragon sided with Rupert. The Dukes of Austria embraced the cause of the new King. In Italy the divergence was very marked. Florence and Lucca lost no time in proclaiming their allegiance to Rupert; so, too, did the Lord of Padua; but Francesco of Gonzaga and Nicolas of Este remained true to Wenzel. Everything in Northern Italy was preparing for the forthcoming duel between Rupert, King of the Romans, and Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan.

It was with some reason that Rupert deemed the conquest of Milan and the journey to Rome to be more important than the mere defeat of Wenzel. If he were recognised in Italy, if he ousted Gian Galeazzo from Milan, and thus established the supremacy of the Empire over Lombardy, if he returned home from Rome crowned with the golden crown of empire, recognised through Christendom as the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, then the validity of his election would never more be questioned, a fatal blow would be dealt to the house of Luxemburg, the indolent and apathetic Wenzel would be quashed, and Rupert would be free to undertake the reformation of the Church.[2] Italy, that country so fatal to German Emperors, beckoned him onward. He arranged for an army of 20,000 cavaliers, with their attendant squires and with foot soldiers, to meet him at Augsburg on the Virgin's Birthday (8th September 1401). Unfortunately, it was always easier for a German King to get men than to provide money; and for a King who meant to reign righteously, for a King who already had an army in the field under his son on the Bohemian frontier, for a King whose patrimony was relatively small, the difficulty was overwhelming. The Florentines did not provide

[1] Jarry, 246.

[2] Hoefler, 232.

all the funds expected, and the King was obliged to disband one-quarter of his army forthwith. With the remainder he marched in the late autumn days to Trient, and thence his troops pressed on to Brescia ; by this time, however, the army was less than one-third its original strength. A party in Brescia, traitors to the Duke of Milan, had promised to surrender the town to the King, but their treachery was discovered. The Duke meantime had taken into his pay the most famous condottiere generals in Italy, Alberigo da Barbiano, Jacopo del Verme, and others. King Rupert, who had scarcely marched a single march with his army, was still behind in Trient. Francesco of Carrara was in command of the Imperial troops ; he divided his army into four parts, under the Count Palatine Louis, Duke Leopold of Austria, the Burggraf of Nuernberg, and his own son Jacopo : the entire army, horse and foot, was only 32,000 strong. The ducal troops were commanded by Facino Cane. The fight outside Brescia, on the 21st October 1401, was soon decided : the German horse were heavily bitted, fit only for the heavy, lumbering charge ; while the Italians were much lighter in hand, easy to turn and wheel, and deft at manœuvre. The Burggraf of Nuernberg charged the Markgraf of Montferrat, who dragged him from his saddle; and when the Germans dismounted to help their leader, the Markgraf, who had broken his lance, charged among them sword in hand. They fell into confusion, and Carrara ordered the Austrians to their assistance. Carlo Malatesta, however, charged Leopold of Austria, and tore him from his saddle ; the Duke was surrounded and hurried off to Brescia. The Germans, now bereft of their leaders, would have fled from the field had not Jacopo of Carrara come to their aid : he saved the remnant, but the day was lost. Three days later, Leopold of Austria, with the German prisoners, appeared in Rupert's camp, and by every one except the King his release was attributed to his treachery ; Francesco of Carrara declared that he had received a written warning that the Duke meant to deliver him and his son into the hands of Gian Galeazzo. Leopold and the Archbishop of Cologne declined to fight further against the Italians and marched home with their troops.

The campaign was indeed at an end. Rupert was no general, he was no warrior; men said that he was timid; he loved negotiation better than fighting; he was more at home with men of learning than in the tented field. His army had wellnigh dwindled away; its commander-in-chief had escaped to Padua, and thither the King followed him. At Padua Rupert was welcomed with all the honour due to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; but when he went on to Venice, the Doge seated himself close to the King's throne. Rupert was loth to give up his schemes to humble the Duke of Milan and to be crowned at Rome; he tarried on through the weary winter months, bargaining and negotiating; Gian Galeazzo laughed him to scorn; the Pope was afraid to crown him and proposed impossible conditions; the Florentines complained that he had not fulfilled his contract, and haggled with him like merchants with a corporal of mercenaries. Finally the King lost heart and temper, borrowed 12,000 ducats from the Venetians, and in April 1402 betook himself back to Germany again, dishonoured, poverty-stricken, and without the golden crown which he had set out to win. He was the laughing-stock of Germany and Italy; men joked him for his empty pockets as they joked his son-in-law years later; they sang:—

'Der Goggelman ist komen an,
Er hat eine leere Tasche an.'

His expedition to Italy was a still more dismal failure than had been the expedition against Bohemia. He reached Munich on the 2nd May 1402.

The next eighteen months, however, witnessed a striking revolution in Fortune's wheel. The dreaded Duke of Milan died, and his dominions were divided; all unity of purpose ceased; Gian Galeazzo and the power of Milan were no longer an object of dread to King and to Pope. Then again the relation of Bohemia and Hungary to the papacy had altered. Wenzel was in prison, guarded by the Archdukes of Austria; Sigismund, ruler of both Bohemia and Hungary, was threatened by Ladislas of Naples, who was crowned King of Hungary in Zara, and whose expedition Pope Boniface had blessed and promoted. King Sigismund, in revenge, withdrew the kingdoms

of Hungary and Bohemia from their obedience to the Pope at Rome, and forbade the sending of any revenues thence to the papal treasury. The Pope had thus lost the obedience of these large and important kingdoms. There was still another consideration which weighed with him. Rupert, the rival King of the Romans, was himself endeavouring to contract a matrimonial alliance with King Martin of Aragon, the most devoted adherent of Pope Benedict; and this same King was moreover in communication with the court of France, the determined advocates of the union. It seemed as if King Rupert were also likely to slip away from obedience to Rome, and Pope Boniface resolved to lose no further time in binding him to his cause. On the 1st October 1403 he held a Consistory, confirmed the election of Rupert as King of the Romans, and pronounced Wenzel to be deposed. The decision, thus irrevocably taken, had the effect of riveting Rupert, as Ladislas had already been bound, to the side of the Pope at Rome, and of setting in opposition Wenzel of Bohemia and Sigismund of Hungary. For good or for evil the die was now cast.

Meantime in France the feeling in favour of restitution of obedience to Pope Benedict the Thirteenth had been steadily gathering strength. It was desired on all hands that a general council of his obedience should be held. The one party held that, before this could be done, it was necessary to restore the spiritual allegiance of the kingdom to the Pope in order that he might himself convoke the council; the opposite party held that this was not necessary, that the King and not the Pope was the protector of the Gallican Church. The University of Orleans, then that of Toulouse, then those of Angers and Montpellier, expressed themselves in favour of the restitution of obedience. The Provençals in May 1401 followed the example of the Bretons in returning to their spiritual allegiance. On the 4th March 1402 the Bishop of Saint-Pons, on the 15th April the Bishop of Zamorra, spoke long and earnestly in presence of the King and the royal princes in defence of the Pope at Avignon.

Early in 1403 the King of Castile declared that to avoid insurrection he had restored the obedience of his country to

the Pope. The Duke of Orleans sustained the cause of the captive Pope at every opportunity; his threats to interfere forcibly for his release brought him and the Duke of Berri into violent altercation and defiance. King Charles himself declared his readiness to succour and aid 'our Holy Father.'

The University of Toulouse had addressed a letter to the King. They had never agreed to the subtraction of obedience; and if their communication did not contain much that was new in the way of argument, it put the case for Benedict very forcibly and plainly. Unfortunately, they allowed their animosity and jealousy toward their elder sister, the University of Paris, to appear too clearly. This set the extreme members against them; but the more moderate party in the University adopted a more temperate tone. The Chancellor, Jean Gerson, had lived for four years in Flanders, as Dean of Bruges, under the Duke of Burgundy, and had there been brought into personal contact with the men of both obediences. A man of an eminently politic and moderate mind, he had recognised that there was good faith on both sides, that a man might acknowledge the obedience of Pope Boniface and might yet sincerely desire the welfare and unity of the Church. Gerson pointed out that it was unreasonable to dub as heretics every one who was of a different mind on a question as to which there might clearly be two contradictory conscientious opinions, and that the preferable method was for the men of both obediences to work together for the cession of both Popes and the unity of the Church; men on both sides desired to render their obedience to the one true Pope if they could only be assured who was the real head of the Church; and it was only through the united working of both parties that doubt could be resolved and concord assured.[1] Nicolas de Clamanges and the tutor of the Dauphin also wrote in favour of the restitution of obedience to Pope Benedict. Louis, Duke of Anjou, who, after losing Naples and Tarentum, had returned to France in 1399, formally replaced Provence and his other dominions, on the 30th August 1402, under the obedience of Benedict, and was paid for the restitution, much to the anger and disgust of the

[1] Schwab, 155.

Dukes of Berri and Burgundy. The Carthusian monks returned to their spiritual allegiance.

The first-fruits of the subtraction of obedience had been to expose the Church to the power of the secular arm.[1] It reduced the consenting cardinals to sue to the princes for support; it deprived the lower ranks of the clergy of their right of appeal against the exactions of their superiors; the Gallican Church found that the King's yoke was heavier on them than that of the Pope; the University of Paris was dissatisfied, for the ordinaries used their rights of collation not to provide for its candidates, but to promote their own servants and friends. The University called for a council of the Clementine obedience, part demanding that Benedict should again be recognised and should preside, part desirous that he should appear before it as an accused person, Gerson and his followers steering a middle course. The subtraction of obedience had caused a schism in every province, in every diocese, in every convent, almost in every family of the kingdom. It was recognised as a fruitless and selfish policy.

Pope Benedict determined to escape from his fortress prison. Some coping-stones were removed from a bricked-up wall on the north of the palace. Passing through the aperture, with his doctor and two others, the Pope found the Constable of Aragon and three men awaiting him; they had no difficulty in eluding the sentries, and conducted the Pope for the night to the house where lodged the Aragonese embassy. In the early morning, as soon as the gates of the city were opened, Benedict, muffled in the cloak of a servant of a Norman cavalier, Robert de Braquemont,[2] made his way to the river bank where a boat, sent by the Cardinal of Pampeluna, and manned by fourteen strong oarsmen, awaited him. The Pope had collected four hundred men-at-arms who, posted outside Avignon, awaited his escape. The boat was pulled down the Rhone to the confluence of the Durance, then up the tributary river until they were opposite Château Renard. Here Benedict got out, mounted a horse, and made for the little castle which, with its two round towers, stands on a clump of rock cropping up from the flat fields around. The

[1] *Religieux*, ii. 688. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 70.

Pope reached the castle about nine in the morning of the 12th March, the Feast of Saint Gregory, and here on the soil of Provence he was a free man again. During his captivity he had let his beard grow until it was two palm-widths in length and he looked like the patriarch Abraham; he now had it taken off by the Duke's barber, a Picard. Benedict laughed heartily when he was again beardless as a Roman priest should be: 'I see,' said he, 'that the Normans are alway liars, for they swore they would shave my beard for me, and now it has been done by a Picard.' On the 29th April the College of Cardinals, five of those who had originally revolted from him being dead and three absent at Paris, knelt before him with tears in their eyes and promised him faithful obedience for the rest of their lives;[1] and a treaty was made at the Château. In this treaty Benedict said not a word of abdication; he did not confirm the promise which he had made during his captivity, to abdicate if his rival died, abdicated, or was ejected; he merely adopted a suggestion, which had been supported by his friend Pierre d'Ailly in 1401 and by the Cardinal of Palestrina in 1402, to convoke a council of his obedience, without pledging himself to the time or place of convocation, in order to take measures in concert with the cardinals, prelates, and other notable and faithful men for the union and good governance of Holy Mother Church.[2] It was clear that he regarded everything done during his captivity as done under duress and as void, that he looked upon himself as being by his escape placed on the same footing as he was on before the siege of Avignon began. For the Head of the Church to be kept in confinement was inconsistent with his right and his duty. Benedict regarded himself as having fought a hard fight and having won it, and as being entitled therefore to take advantage of his victorious position. The cardinals sent two of their number to the King of France to acquaint him with what had happened, and to urge him to restore to Benedict the obedience of the kingdom.

The news of the escape of Pope Benedict was received at Paris by the populace with joy; the King and the Dukes were

[1] *Religieux*, iii. 84.

[2] Ehrle, v. 451; vii. 161, 202.



Château Renard.

glad of any solution of a situation which had become embarrassing. Jean Gerson declared that it was the part of wise men to accept the situation; he compared the escape of the Pope to Jonah issuing from the belly of the whale. The implacable Norman Doctors of the University of Paris were alone dissatisfied.[1] Pierre d'Ailly published a work advising that a council of the obedience of Benedict be called, that the honours due to the Pope as the Head of the Church be restored to him, but not those recent privileges and abuses which Saint Peter and his followers had never known. The Duke of Orleans, in the absence of the King and of the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, took matters into his own hands. He ordered the Archbishops then in Paris secretly to collect the votes of their subordinates, and then he called together to the Hôtel of Saint Paul, on the 28th May 1403, all the prelates then in the capital. As soon as he was assured that those in favour of the restitution of obedience were in the majority, he communicated the result to the King. Charles, who was now in his sound senses again, was rejoiced; on that same day, with his hands on the crucifix, the King of France restored to Pope Benedict the spiritual allegiance of his kingdom, and personally promised him henceforth obedience inviolate as to the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Pierre d'Ailly announced that the Pope had made certain concessions to the Duke which were to be subsequently ratified by a papal Bull; he would resign if his rival died, abdicated, or were deposed; and he would call a council of his own obedience within a year. On this understanding obedience was restored to Pope Benedict. The Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who returned four days later, were disgusted; but victory lay for the time with the Duke of Orleans. The royal dukes, no less than the extreme members of the University of Paris, were obliged to agree to the restitution of obedience. The country was overwhelmed with joy at the escape of the Pope, and re-entered into its spiritual allegiance amid universal contentment.

The conditions for which the Duke of Orleans had made himself responsible had still to be published by papal Bull. He met Pope Benedict on the 8th December at Tarascon. The result

[1] Bess, 39.

of their conference was made known by the five Bulls promulgated on the 8th January 1404. In the first the Pope annulled all that he had written against the 'way of cession,' and invited the King of France and all other Christian kings and princes to work for the union of the Church, while at the same time he reserved to himself the right of choosing that method which might appear to him to be the most useful and expedient for that end.[1] The second Bull confirmed the treaty which he had made with the cardinals at Château Renard. The third renews the promise to convoke a council of his obedience, without naming time or place for the meeting.[2] The fourth annulled censures incurred during the subtraction of obedience. The fifth provided that in the coming council there should be no renewed question as to subtraction. The Pope was therefore free to abdicate or not, according as he considered the measure appropriate to secure the union of the Church; and the council which he had promised to call was in no way to attack his honour, his rights, or his liberty. He had won the victory all along the line. Nevertheless the King and the Duke professed themselves fully satisfied with the concessions which he had made. He lost no time in showing that he regarded as invalid all appointments or promotions made during his five years' captivity at Avignon. The attempt to end the Schism by the subtraction of obedience had been made, and it had proved a total failure. Pope Benedict had been averse from the 'way of cession,' and had made no secret of his aversion, ever since it had first been proposed, and nothing had since happened to make him change his opinion. If, therefore, France was determined still to pursue this method, she knew that she must count on her own Pope as its most sturdy opponent.

In June 1404 the full and formal reconciliation of France with Pope Benedict was effected. In February the King had written expressing his sorrow for all the hardships that the Pope had suffered, and explaining that he himself had been guiltless in the matter; it had indeed been the work of the recalcitrant cardinals, backed up by the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy and the extreme party in the University of Paris.

[1] Ehrle, vii. 288. [2] Jarry, 449.

Benedict acknowledged this, and on the 13th June 1404 promised that he would be 'his good, true, and faithful spiritual father and friend.' But there was further trouble in the near future. A new crisis was at hand. The unholy alliance between Pope and King, which had subsisted during the pontificate of Clement the Seventh to the detriment of the Church, had been broken by the reluctance of Benedict to adopt the 'way of cession'; the King had thrown over the Pope and had united himself with the Church; the Gallican Church had gained its freedom from the Pope, but only to fall under the more intolerable yoke of the crown. Disunion and jealousy among the clergy, the want of any consistent leadership at court, the noble endurance by Benedict of the tribulation to which he had been subjected, had brought about a revulsion of feeling and a restitution of obedience. The Duke of Orleans had guaranteed more than he was in a position to fulfil; but the demand for a general council, to which the Pope had promised to accede, had gained strength and was becoming imperative among all classes in France.[1] Pope Benedict the Thirteenth, however, still believed in the 'way of convention' as the sovereign cure for the disruption of the Church.

[1] Kehrmann, 101.

# CHAPTER VI

## BOLOGNA

In his government of the Church, Pope Boniface the Ninth was eminently a strong man who had no liking for being hampered by a too numerous college of cardinals. Cardinals, moreover, were costly luxuries; it was easier not to have to provide for them than to refuse them their share of the Church revenues; and the courteous simoniac may have been influenced by the reflection that the fewer cardinals there were, the more spoils would accrue to his brothers and to that *omnium mulierum avarissima*, his mother.[1] Be the reason what it may, he reversed the policy of his predecessor in the creation of cardinals. Of the thirteen who had elected him in 1389, only five remained alive at the Jubilee of 1400. To replace the eight who had died, Boniface only raised four new priests to the college, although he had to give hats to two cardinals who deserted from Urban. The four cardinals, raised to the purple at the first creation by Boniface, were all men of mark. They were Henricus Minultulus, who was constantly employed as Papal Legate; Bartholomæus de Uliarius, who was especially deputed to Ladislas of Naples; Cosmato de' Megliorati, afterwards Pope Innocent the Seventh, who was employed as ambassador between Gian Galeazzo of Milan and the Republics of Florence and Bologna; and Christophorus Maro, who was appointed umpire between Boniface and Paolo Savelli in the matter of certain towns the possession of which was in dispute.[2] Of these four the second died in 1396, but no new creation of cardinals was made until the 27th February 1402. The Pope had a keen eye for a man of action, and could hence appre-

[1] *De Schismate*, 140.

[2] Ciaconius, ii. 705 *et seq.*

ciate the worth of his young fellow-countryman, Baldassare Cossa. He had approved himself a brave soldier, a skilful general, and a shrewd man of affairs. He was a man after Boniface's own heart; there were indeed many points of resemblance in their characters. In the new creation, therefore, Baldassare Cossa became cardinal-deacon, being made Cardinal of Saint Eustachius. In January of the next year the Pope determined to utilise his military virtue by deputing him to recover Bologna; he made him Papal Legate of Bologna. Niem, *more suo*, has his own private bit of scandal. He says that one reason for the appointment was '*ut sic cessaret infamia, quam, detinendo in concubinam dictam Catharinam, in Curia prefata contraxit, ipsaque maritum suum, tunc morantem Neapoli, sequeretur.*'[1] But, then, Niem himself kept a concubine.[2] That Baldassare Cossa was a man of intelligence, energy, and courage is certain; and it was undoubtedly his worth as a man of war, as a man of resource and action, that induced Pope Boniface the Ninth to appoint him on the 19th January 1403 to the important post of Papal Legate at Bologna.

When Cossa, a cardinal of not yet a year's standing, was thus appointed by Pope Boniface to be Legate *a latere* at Bologna, that city had fallen before the might of Milan, and the Duke's general, Facino Cane, was within the walls. In proceeding northward therefore to take command of the papal troops, the first task of the new Legate was to win back by force of arms the city and territory of Bologna to the allegiance of the Pope. Matters there had fallen out on this wise.

The Visconti had been the rulers of Milan since the end of the thirteenth century. Their power was so firmly established, and their reputation was so great, that they had been able to intermarry with the royal houses of France and England and with the princes of Germany. When Duke Galeazzo the Second died in 1378, he left his dominions to be divided between his brother Bernabo and his son Gian Galeazzo. Bernabo tried to get rid of his nephew; he entered into several plots against his life and his property; but Gian

[1] Hardt, ii. 346.

[2] Erler, 34.

Galeazzo always managed to detect and defeat them, although he uniformly simulated ignorance of these attempts. In perfidy and dissimulation the nephew was more than a match for the uncle. Gian suddenly became devout, surrounded himself with priests, visited churches, rosary in hand, spent hours in devotion before the images of the saints; and being by nature a coward, doubled his bodyguard. In May 1385 he announced that he was going to pay his devotion at the shrine of the Madonna del Monte near Varese, a town not far from the Lago Maggiore and therefore lying within the domain of his uncle Bernabo. Gian Galeazzo, with his strong bodyguard under the command of Jacopo del Verme and Antonio Porro, approached Milan on the 6th May, and was met by Bernabo and his two sons. The uncle and nephew embraced with effusion, clasping each other tenderly; but Gian gave an order in German to his two captains, and the soldiers promptly seized their three noble prisoners. The farce was now played out: Milan opened its gates to Gian; Bernabo and his two sons were imprisoned; and on the 18th December 1385 Bernabo died, leaving his nephew, Gian Galeazzo, sole Lord of Lombardy.

Gian Galeazzo now set himself to win the overlordship of all Italy. Though an utter stranger to courage and to honour, his ambition was unbounded and his wealth exceeded that of the Emperor. When he made war, he took into his pay the best condottiere generals of the time; when he made peace, he nominally dismissed the generals but kept them privately on half-pay, on condition that they ravaged only the lands of his enemies and left his own untouched. Both peace and war were thus equally advantageous to him and disastrous to his foes. He speedily reduced nearly all Lombardy to his sway. Montferrat and Savoy on the west maintained their independence only by subservient obedience to his behests and by passively following his standards. He conquered the states of Padua and Verona, so that in 1386 the vipers on his blazonry were hoisted on the Adriatic and his standards floated before the belfries of Venice.[1] Subsequently indeed Franceso of Carrara, the young Lord of Padua, after a series of adventures more various and romantic than

[1] Sismondi (*I. R.*), v. 57.

ever befell a hero of fiction, succeeded in recovering the city of Padua, but his power remained crippled, while that of Gian Galeazzo was practically undiminished. The Lord of Milan then turned his attention to the centre of Italy. Here Florence barred his way; but Perugia and Siena surrendered, Pisa was betrayed to him, and Mantua made terms. Beside Florence, Bologna only remained hostile.

Renowned alike for her wealth, her commerce, and her university, on which at times she spent half her income,[1] Bologna in the thirteenth century ranked second only to Florence as a free Guelf republic; but in the former half of the fourteenth century she had sunk under the dominion of the Pepoli, one of her own families, and the Pepoli had sold her to the Visconti. Pope Clement the Sixth in 1352 had confirmed the bargain by conceding to the Dukes of Milan the sovereignty of Bologna for ten years. The Duke put in Giovanni Visconti of Ollegio to govern the State; he revolted and reigned as an independent tyrant until he was forced by the exigencies of war to sell Bologna to Cardinal Albornoz; and in this way the Bolognese, to their own great joy, in 1360 became vassals of Holy Church. Sixteen years later, however, when Florence by reason of papal misgovernment raised the standard of revolt, Bologna joined the league and shook off the papal yoke.

The Visconti meantime had not forgotten their own claim or design on the State. Bologna was now again a free republic; and in those days a free republic in Italy generally meant government by faction. Each contending faction might be patriotic, as at Florence; but not uncommonly one faction was ready to barter its patriotism for gold. These internal squabbles formed muddy political waters, in fishing which no one was more skilful than Gian Galeazzo. He fomented party disputes, helping one side against the other, until the victor was himself too enfeebled to resist the might of Milan. This was what now happened at Bologna. It had always been a fickle and turbulent city. In 1380 the people expelled the officers of Pope Urban, engraved on their coins the standard of liberty, and received from Pope Clement an offer of political independence condi-

[1] Burckhardt, 210.

tional on their recognising him as legitimate Pope. Bologna would not go so far as that. In 1386 Clement renewed his offer. Three years later Bologna again revolted from Urban, declaring herself the ally of France and planting the *fleur de lis* on her walls. A group of scholars made their way to Avignon and promised obedience to Clement.[1] The French Pope recognised the political independence of the city and her rights over four towns adjoining. But it was the aid of the French King, not that of the French Pope, that the Bolognese wanted, for they feared the might of Milan. They agreed with their adversary quickly.[2]

Fresh plots next year again sent Florence and Bologna as suppliants to Charles of France, who promised to protect them against Gian Galeazzo if they would recognise Clement; but with the advent of Boniface the Ninth a new spirit had come over papal politics; the new Pope was courteous and conciliatory, and Bologna and Florence stood fast in their alliance with the Pope at Rome. In 1399 Nanne Gozzadini was at the head of the ruling faction, that of the 'Chessmen,' the old faction of the Pepoli; on the 22nd April he was overpowered and exiled by the opposite faction of the Maltraversi; in November he and his ally, Giovanni Bentivoglio, were recalled to power, the plague having swept away their rivals. Shortly after this Gozzadini and Bentivoglio quarrelled; the former associated himself with the lower classes, the latter with the higher and with the remnant of the Maltraversi. Throughout the whole of 1400 they were at daggers drawn, but did not venture on open hostilities. Early in 1401 Giovanni Bentivoglio, who had entered into alliance with Gian Galeazzo, succeeded in expelling his adversaries and in getting himself, on the 28th March, proclaimed Lord of Bologna. He had promised to sell the signiory of the city to the Duke of Milan, but now that the time was come for him to fulfil his bargain, he found himself too enamoured of his new dignity to resign it willingly. The Duke had been overreached for once, and his only plan now was to enter into terms with the exiled Nanne Gozzadini. The alliance was made accordingly.

[1] *Religieux*, i. 516.

[2] See *ante*, p. 106.

The Duke was determined to make himself master of the city which had so long defied his power. He sent against Bologna a force of twelve thousand horse and a large body of foot under Jacopo del Verme, Alberigo da Barbiano, Facino Cane, Carlo Malatesta, and other condottiere generals. The troops of Mantua were on his side; those of Florence and Padua helped Giovanni Bentivoglio and the men of Bologna, and Sforza, still young in his career of arms, also fought on their side. The forces of Bologna were on the east bank of the river Reno, with the city in their rear; those of Milan were on the opposite side of the stream. Bernadone di Guascogna was in command of one army, the veteran Jacopo del Verme of the other. The signal for attack was given; the horse advanced rapidly in a cloud of dust to the steep bank; the fight became general. The Florentine brigade, known as the Company of the Rose, was in charge of the Bridge of Caselecchio; into them charged Alberigo; the Florentines gave way and fled before the Constable; the men of Bologna saw that the day had gone against them and Bentivoglio, and at once raised the cry, 'Death to Signor Giovanni; long live the People!' The fight of Caselecchio was won for the Duke. The Captain of Bologna, the two sons of the Lord of Padua, Sforza, and others were taken prisoners; the Milanese troops entered the city, crying 'Long live the People and the Arts!' (27th June 1402). The Duke had promised Nanne Gozzadini to restore to the Bolognese their independence; the signiory was offered to him, and he refused it, hoping for a popular government. A pretence was made of fulfilling the promise: magistrates were elected and orders issued in the name of the free republic; but next day Gian Galeazzo's cavalry took possession of the city, and a noble of Bologna, suborned for the purpose, proposed at a council held at the Palazzo del Commune on the 14th July 1402, to confer the signiory on the Duke of Milan. The infant republic was thus strangled in its birth; Nanne Gozzadini had been tricked, and Bologna had passed under the sway of Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan. Giovanni Bentivoglio had fled for refuge to the house of his aged nurse, but was tracked and brought before the Constable. His appeal brought tears to the eyes of his former friend but

recent enemy, Nanne Gozzadini; but he was led out, delivered over to the fickle populace, who killed him in cold blood (30th June).[1]

Nanne Gozzadini, disappointed and angry, went to Milan and complained of the turn things had taken; the Duke spoke him fair and then shut him up in the Rocca di Milano; Nanne escaped, went to Ferrara, and implored the aid of its Signor to establish a *Commune* at Bologna under the protection of the Church.

Heaven favoured the Pope. The Duke of Milan was now forty-five years of age; he had all the best generals of Italy in his pay; he had subdued nearly all Lombardy and a large part of Central Italy; he had not, indeed, succeeded in getting the Pope to make an alliance with him against the new King of the Romans, but he had defeated that King at Brescia and had forced him to quit Italy, a laughing-stock to gods and men. Gian Galeazzo with Pisa, Bologna, Perugia, and Siena in his hands, had completely encircled Florence, which lay at his mercy; he was now so secure that, as he himself said, God alone could hurt him.[2] He might reasonably look forward to waging war on favourable terms with Venice, and thereafter marching through Italy to the gates of Rome. But the one power which the Duke feared took up arms against him. Plague broke out in Lombardy, and Gian Galeazzo decided to leave Pavia for a safer place. Like many other long-headed men of his time, he was under the influence of astrologers; he consulted them, and at the hour which they pronounced propitious he retired to his castle at Marignano. But it was too late; he had no sooner reached the town than the dreaded fever seized him. As he lay a-dying, five hours after sundown, a huge comet appeared in the sky. 'I thank God,' said the Duke, 'that the sign of my recall appears in the heavens, plain for all men to see.'[3] The news of his death threw the people of Florence into transports of delight; they held festivals and games to celebrate their deliverance, and at once sent an embassy to the Pope to persuade him to send Baldassare Cossa with an army to recapture Bologna. In that city also the true feelings of the people appeared: they broke out into

[1] Mur. xviii. 209, 210; 572-4. [2] Tartini, ii. 435, 443. [3] Mur. xxi. 88.

tilting, dancing, and song; although for decency's sake they sent two citizens, dressed in brown, to Milan to condole.[1]

Pope Boniface the Ninth, now delivered from the fear of his powerful enemy, had created Baldassare Cossa Cardinal of Saint Eustachius shortly before, and lost no time in granting the request of the Florentines.[2] Gian Galeazzo had by his will left Bologna, with other places, to his eldest son Giovanni Maria; and Lionardo Malaspina came from Milan to govern the city, with Facino Cane as his general. Lionardo belonged to a good old Milanese family which had taken part in the war with Barbarossa.[3] He found the city seething with discontent, imprisoned many of the leading men, but was quite unable to stop the continual plots which were formed. Dissensions had already broken out in Milan among the followers of the late Duke. Carlo Malatesta, who had been envoy to the Pope in 1401, joined the Florentines; the Constable Alberigo da Barbiano, second to none in experience and skill, entered the service of the Pope in April 1403. Baldassare Cossa took over the supreme command from Nicolas of Este, Marquess of Ferrara, on the 2nd June.

Cossa found in the army several condottiere generals of note: among them were the two Malatesti, Carlo and Malatesta; Braccio dal Montone, one of the most skilful commanders of the time; Paolo Orsini, hereafter to be trusted beyond his merits; Manfredo Barbiani and others. Here, too, were Nanne Gozzadini and his brother Bonifacio, anxious by means of the Pope to secure the lordship of Bologna.[4] The Papal Legate arrived before the city on the 9th July. On the 13th, Lionardo Malaspina the Milanese governor died, and Facino Cane took supreme command, for the minor Duke. Malaspina, who was highly esteemed by all, was accorded a magnificent funeral; while the Bolognese soon found his successor to be an unjust, avaricious, and bestial ruler, an enemy of all reason.[5] Their spirits soon rose in revolt against him. He was a very capable general, however. On the 17th July he closed the city gates, and sent out foraging parties to bring in hay and corn. The troops of the allies took a large number of small places

[1] Mur. xviii. 576. [2] *Ibid.* xx. 291. [3] Giesebricht, v. 570.
[4] Ghirar, ii. 542; Mur. xviii. 578; xxi. 90. [5] Ghirar, ii. 544.

round the city, and one night they made their way within the walls, only to be turned out by Facino Cane in the morning. Skirmishes between the enemies were frequent; but neither side was willing to risk a decisive engagement.

The Papal Legate and Carlo Malatesta therefore decided to carry the war into the enemy's country. They marched by Reggio and Parma towards Milan; the people of Brescia, Cremona, Lodi, Placentia, and Bergamo revolted from the new Duke of Milan, and proclaimed their independence. Ugolino, the new ruler of Cremona, welcomed the cardinal and his troops, and put everything at their disposal for the passage of the Po. In Milan itself dissensions were rife in the council which Gian Galeazzo had by his will appointed for the guidance of the State: Francesco Barvavara, its head, had been deposed and a more popular assembly constituted; the Duchess and her son had been forced to seek shelter in the citadel. Giovanni Maria was consequently glad to come to terms with his adversaries. This was not difficult. Francesco of Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua and one of the ducal council, was faithful to the Dowager Duchess and her son: he was married to a daughter of Bernabo Visconti. Carlo Malatesta had married another daughter. Both wives were therefore sisters to the Duchess, who, though married to her father's murderer, was herself the sixth of the ten daughters of old Bernabo.[1] Gonzaga came over to the camp of the Papal Legate, and without the knowledge of the Florentine allies a treaty was soon concluded between the Pope's representative and the Duke of Milan. On the 23rd August 1403 peace was publicly announced: the Duke of Milan restored to the Church Bologna, Perugia, and other towns which his father had taken. The news reached Bologna on the 28th; the citizens grew mad with joy, and raised the cry '*Viva la Chiesa!*' They became so tumultuous that they attacked Facino Cane and his men, who retaliated; there was fighting in the streets; three hundred houses were burned, but the general was forced to retire.[2] The populace were delighted to escape from the harsh rule and the taxes of the Visconti and to get back again under the milder sway of the Church; they sent out on the 2nd September inviting the cardinal to enter the city. On the 3rd September,

[1] Huebner, tab. 298.

[2] Mur. xviii. 581.

between the hours of seven and eight P.M., Baldassare Cossa made his triumphal entry into Bologna.

The Florentines complained to the Pope of the treaty made behind their backs, which gave no assurance for the independence of Tuscany; but Boniface was too delighted with what he had regained, and put the Florentines off with fair words. He tried to persuade them that the Legate, considering the influence of Carlo Malatesta and the fact that the Milanese had not been conquered, had done the best he could. This was probably the fact; for Carlo Malatesta, though the best and most loyal of his race,[1] had formerly been in the pay of Florence, and was very wroth with the men of the republic. They were a pigeon-house of rustics, he said, who wanted to ruin all the gentlemen of Italy, and would like to get the Duke of Milan to hand over Pisa to them; but the wrathful Carlo was not inclined to see the Guelfs always lording it over the Ghibelines.[2] The Florentines apparently accepted the Pope's view, for they never betrayed any rancour against the Legate, and were ready to enter into fresh alliance with him when the time came. But they naturally considered that they had very little to show for the eighty-eight thousand florins which they had expended; and to humour them the Pope, before ratifying the treaty, urged the Duke of Milan to include Florence in the peace. But when the Duke declined and the Florentines asked the Pope to continue the war against him, Boniface pleaded poverty, ratified the treaty, and left the Florentines to fight the Duke single-handed.

Baldassare Cossa, Cardinal of Saint Eustachius, had won back for the Church the strange old city with the arcaded streets, and was now acknowledged Lord of Bologna. The Signor of Imola arrived with congratulations; on the day following came the Marquess of Ferrara, and on the 10th September the Signor of Ravenna. Cossa's position, however, was not universally accepted even in Bologna itself. Plots in favour of Nanne Gozzadini, who had entered the city with the Legate, were discovered; Nanne's son and brother were imprisoned, and the latter confessed and was executed. Having thus strengthened his position, and obtained possession of the

[1] Yriarte, 46. [2] Tartini, ii. 486.

citadel, Cossa determined to make his 'pontifical entry' after the manner of Papal Legates. The ceremony was fixed for the 11th November, and was naturally the occasion for much pomp and circumstance. On the night of the 10th the Legate slept at the Monastery of the Crociari outside the walls, and in the morning he entered the city by the Porta San Mammolo. All the streets through which he was to pass to the cathedral were adorned with coloured cloths and silks, and were embellished with the arms of the Church, the City, and the Legate. All the nobles and chief citizens came forth to meet him; the people ran to greet him with cries of *Viva la Chiesa!* In the midst of them was the carroccio, drawn by four bulls, with scarlet trappings fringed with gold; above the car floated the banner of the Church, and on it stood eight Doctors of the Law and as many cavaliers, to all of whom the Legate had presented scarlet robes. Then came the City Ancients, one of whom bore the banner of the Church, a second that of the City, and a third that of the new Legate. Then followed the magistrates and their attendants with music of divers kinds. Cossa entered the city on horseback, a scarlet canopy richly fringed and lined held over his head, four young nobles of Bologna acting as his grooms. At the city gates, to the sound of trumpets and drums, the keys were handed to him on a golden salver, and orations and verses in Latin and the vulgar were recited. Thence, all along the road, boys dressed as angels escorted him to the cathedral, where he was welcomed by the bishop and the clergy.[1] Thus did Baldassare Cossa take possession of Bologna.

The city of Bologna, situate where the long line of the Upper Apennines at length ceases to dominate the wearisome 'waveless plain' of Southern Lombardy, was at once the key and the capital of the province Æmilia. In those days the city was skirted by a wood, and was famous for its square towers even more than for its arcaded streets. These towers, nine hundred and fifty in number at one time, were for the most part built of wood, often one within five feet of its neighbour; they rose at times out of the meanest houses.[2] The porticoes forming the arcades were never less than seven yards

[1] Ghirar, ii. 549; Frati, 171.

[2] Frati, 3.

high, and sometimes rose above the first two storeys of the building; they served the purpose of keeping out the sun in summer and the snow in winter. The houses were nearly all of timber cut from the neighbouring wood; the upper storeys projected over the crooked narrow streets, excluding light and air. The more pretentious buildings were made of brick, and were ornamented with terra cotta; there was no marble. The ordinary private houses had neither cellars, drains, nor wells; but there were public wells, and near these no one was allowed to deposit refuse, nor were barbers permitted to shave or bleed any one in the vicinity. Ordure of every kind was thrown into the open drains to be washed away by the rains; the only scavengers were the sows and gelded hogs which roamed the streets. A commencement toward order and sanitation had, however, already been made. Every traveller who entered the city at one gate was required to procure a ticket before he could leave it at another.[1] Here and there the crowded houses had been cleared away and open squares made; one of the earliest clearances had been effected in anticipation of the visit of Pope John the Twenty-second. The Piazza of Ravegnana around the well-known leaning towers of Asinelli and Garisendi, the Piazza Maggiore, now called the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, the squares before the churches of San Stefano and San Michele de' Leprosetti, had all been formed before the time of the Legate's entry, and all but the last-mentioned before the time when he first came as a student to Bologna. The cathedral of San Pietro had been rebuilt and again repaired after an earthquake. The church of Saint Dominic had been constructed by Nicola Pisano in the thirteenth century; so, too, had the church of Saint Francis, the first Italian church with three naves, the most beautiful and picturesque of the churches of Bologna, although its bell-tower was built and its wonderful altar finished later while Cossa was at Rome; the church of Saint James the Greater had been begun and been enlarged. The palaces of the Commune and the Podesta were both in existence at the end of the thirteenth century; the old palace of the Pepoli was built in the middle of the fourteenth century; the College of Spain, with its

[1] Burckhardt, 50.

peaceful garden reminding one of an Oxford quadrangle, was commenced by Cardinal Albornoz in 1365.

Baldassare Cossa had been a student at the University when the walls of the city were rebuilt, when the Palazzo Publico was restored, when the Society of Notaries erected their palace, when Andrea Manfredi built the Portico and the Church dei Servi, and when the monumental basilica of San Petronio was commenced. He must often have witnessed the fêtes and fairs held in connection with the building of the sacred edifice. The first mass was said in it in the year when he became archdeacon; the first interment was made in it in the year when he entered as Papal Legate. This wonderful church, which in the perfection of its interior proportion and in its exquisite upper lighting surpasses the Duomo at Florence, would, if it had been completed on the lines laid down by its architect, Antonio de Vincenzo, have been the largest and most glorious church of Christendom; but, like so many of the churches of Upper Italy, it was destined to remain a magnificent torso. The Foro or Loggia dei Mercanti, the tribunal of the twelve companies of the 'Arts' of Bologna, situate near the two leaning towers, a building which is no less remarkable for its perfect ogival architecture than for its beautiful terra-cotta ornamentation, was also begun and finished while the Legate was a student at Bologna. The city which he was to capture and to rule was one which might well fill any man's heart with pride to hold under his sway. It still retains many of its old features, its ancient palaces, its arcaded and frescoed streets, its towered churches. The water is still brought into the town by the Canale di Reno, as it was in the days when Giovanni Bentivoglio defended the water supply at Caselecchio against the forces of Milan. John Garzon of Bologna, writing about sixty years later, gives a most enthusiastic description of his native city, in terms which must have been applicable for the most part at the time when Baldassare Cossa became Legate.

Garzon sketches its history from the earliest times: 'Aeneas had not crossed into Italy, Ascanius had not built Alba, nor Romulus Rome, when Bologna . . . was already the noblest town of Tuscany, the chief city in Etruria.' He enumerates its warriors, its literary men, its jurists, its physicians, its

philosophers, its theologians, nor does he omit the Friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians, and Servites who had dwelt within its borders; finally he concludes with a description of the town itself. It extends, he says, as far as the foot of the Apennines, a most flourishing and fruitful spot, abounding in holy temples, in vineyards, and in olive groves; the excellence of the climate and the purity of the air are polluted by no marshy vapours; the soil is of extraordinary fertility, producing crops sufficient for the citizens and for export; wood, honey, oil, flax, everything useful grows here. The city is adorned with handsome and famous edifices; it has large underground drains; it possesses towers from which the approach of an enemy or the existence of a fire can be at once discerned. The Savena skirts it on the east; the Reno enters on the west, and avails for the turning of mills, for the stamping of iron, for the making of paper from papyrus, for the grinding of saffron, pepper, ginger, and the like. There is also a very deep ditch, called Cavadizus, running into the Reno, and on both sides of it are small houses belonging to citizens or to aliens of small substance. On the Savena, where it enters the city, live the dyers in vermilion and the workers in leather. Nor, said he in conclusion, must I forget to mention the grace of the women, the handsomeness of the men, the culture of the citizens, the elegance and majesty of their demeanour.[1]

Garzon's concluding words recall the apostrophe in the *Decameron* to Bologna, 'that most famous city of Lombardy,'[2] which show that Boccaccio deemed the ladies to be most sweet, winsome, and debonair: 'Ah! Bologna! how sweetly mixed are the elements in thy women! How commendable are they all! No delight have they in sighs and tears, but are ever inclinable to prayers, and ready to yield to the solicitations of love. Had I but words apt to praise them as they deserve, my eloquence were inexhaustible.'[3] Such was Bologna, the city over which Baldassare Cossa was to rule firmly and justly for nine years, increasing its fame and extending its dominion.[4] It was the city which he loved, the city whose memory he cherished with

[1] Mur. xxi. 1143.
[2] *Decameron*, ii. 328.
[3] *Decameron*, ii. 147.
[4] Ciaconius, ii. 785; Christophe, iii. 343.

pride and regret. When in 1415 he was being hunted and harassed at Constance, it is piteous to read his continued protestations that, if he were only allowed to go back to Bologna as Papal Legate again, he would desire nothing better and ask nothing more.

Now that Baldassare Cossa was Lord of Bologna, there was much in the city for him to do; the walls and fortresses to strengthen, the buildings to repair, the roads to mend. In 1404 he dismantled the citadel at the San Felice Gate and erected a castle at the Galiera Gate; he built a large covered drain; he raised the flooring of the Piazza, and paved the entrance to San Petronio.[1] It was a simple matter to impress the poor people and the peasantry from the surrounding villages, and by forced labour to get logs and timber carted into the city, and the rougher work performed. But this did not provide material nor skilled labour. To this end taxes were necessary. The Papal Legate introduced a strict system of octroi and excise, the taxes which, with the land-tax, were the usual sources of revenue in Italian cities.[2] A tax of fifty per cent. was imposed on wine, which could only be bought from licensed retailers. These taxes were no more popular in Bologna than in Rome: excise is an eminently fair tax, but it is also universally unpopular. Millers were taxed, and bread could only be purchased at certain appointed shops. Money-lenders, jugglers, and acrobats were obliged to contribute to the town exchequer.

The men of Bologna, like those of other Italian cities, were very fond of games of chance. There were games with dice, with draughts, and with chequers; there were knuckle-bones, skittles, hazard, and other games. Most of them were played with dice or with tables. It was an age of gambling; the Florentine diplomatist, Buonaccorso Pitti, gamed so high that none but princes and dukes could play with him. In Bologna as elsewhere cheating frequently occurred: certain vagabonds and swindlers were convicted in 1402, the year before Cossa came as Legate, of cheating two hog-merchants from Milan. It was easier to regulate than to suppress such games; accordingly certain appointed gaming-houses, known

[1] Mur. xviii. 586.

[2] Burckhardt, 8.

as Baratterie, after the Lombard engineer who saved Venice in the twelfth century, were established and were farmed out to the highest bidder. A number of these Baratterie were scattered through the city,[1] and on all games played with dice Baldassare Cossa levied a tax.

Nor were the women of pleasure exempt. The loose-zoned Cyprians, with eyes dark as the roe and mouths sweeter than honey, those *vacuae personae* to whom alone among women, if men must needs go wrong, Jean Gerson desired that they should confine their amorous attentions,[2] were naturally very numerous in the large University town, where they might hope to 'catch nightingales' with students from far and near. They lived in Castelletto Street, being expressly forbidden to dwell anywhere near churches or monasteries. A special dress was prescribed for these ladies, but they preferred the spotless white raiment of virgins. They were ordered to wear a cowl over their heads, with a little bell, which tinkled as they walked.[3] Many of them had been converted from the error of their ways in 1402 by the preaching of the Franciscan Friar, Antonio da Ritonto; but those who still pursued their old trade had to pay tribute to the Papal Legate.

All these taxes brought in money, but they made the Legate unpopular; and what made Baldassare Cossa's taxation peculiarly obnoxious, and gained him a reputation for tyranny and harshness, was that he taxed all alike, rich and poor, those who could make their discontent heard and those who could not. He even refused to exempt those who came into the city with safe-conducts furnished by some potentate outside; every one paid his share. It was perfectly just, but it was not customary, and hence it was unpopular.[4] Cæsar Borgia, a century later, incurred a similar unpopularity from a similar reason. Under the firm rule of Baldassare Cossa, however, the city was at peace and flourished exceedingly, for he governed it strongly and well.[5]

The years which followed the loss of Bologna were full of disaster for the heirs of Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan. His

[1] Frati, 128-9. [2] Schwab, 388. [3] Frati, 102-5.
[4] Hardt, ii. 348-50. [5] Mur. iii. 854; Duchesne, ii. 512.

widowed Duchess Catharine, who had alienated her other co-executors and co-regents by her excessive fondness for Barbavara, was in 1404 seized by her son Giovanni Maria, was imprisoned in the Castle of Milan, and was finally poisoned. The younger brother, Filippo Maria, was also imprisoned at Pavia. The natural son, Gabriel, lost his city, Pisa, which in 1406 became subject to Florence, as will be hereafter narrated. Divided and weakened, the two brothers, Giovanni and Filippo, lacking the astuteness and ability of their father, gradually lost their possessions; town after town revolted from them and won its independence. Finally in 1408 they quarrelled with their faithful and able general Facino Cane, and put themselves under the protection of Carlo Malatesta.

During these years Baldassare Cossa occupied himself in consolidating his sway in Bologna and in recovering its territories. At first, before the strength and firmness of his rule were known and appreciated, he had to contend with treason inside the city. He got possession of the citadel in 1403.[1] During that year the plots in favour of Nanne Gozzadini, who was ever intriguing for the lordship of the city, began; and after Bonifacio Gozzadini had been put to death, a plot was discovered, at the head of which was Cossa's trusted captain, Vanello da Montefalco. Its success was marred by a timely storm, and the leading traitors were executed.[2] Nanne Gozzadini had possessed himself of Massumatico and other strong places belonging to the Church, and refused to restore them. Corrado da Matelica and Paolo Orsini were sent against Massumatico, but in the assault Corrado was killed; he received honourable sepulture, and at the funeral there was present no less a person than Cosmato de' Megliorati, who had formerly been Bishop of Bologna (1386-7), and was now Archbishop of Ravenna, a cardinal, and on the eve of still higher promotion. Nanne's son Gabbione, who was godson to the Legate, had meantime confessed that he had set about to kill Carlo Malatesta and to drive the officials of Holy Church out of Bologna; he was tried and condemned, and was on the point of being executed when the ambassadors

[1] Mur. xviii. 584. [2] Ghirar, ii. 551.

from Venice and Florence intervened. They suggested that he should be employed to treat with his father. The Legate assented. Gabbione wrote to his father, but without effect. He was even taken outside the fort of Cento, which Nanne was holding, and saw his father; but Nanne continued obdurate. Gabbione was executed. The ambassadors tried to persuade Nanne, who saw that his case was hopeless, to deliver his fortresses to the Legate on payment of ten thousand ducats; and an agreement was drawn up; but before it was executed the fighting between Baldassare Cossa and Nanne Gozzadini broke out afresh. This time the papal troops were successful; Massumatico and Rocca di Cento were taken; Nanne abandoned Pieve and fled to Ferrara. The leading traitors of his party were captured and put to death; the populace sacked his palaces, and the city at last had peace.

In this same year (1404) the Papal Legate obtained the city of Faenza. The lord thereof was at deadly feud with the Constable Alberigo da Barbiano, who pressed him so hard that he was fain to sell his city. He offered it first to the Florentines, and when they declined he sold it to Baldassare Cossa for twenty-five thousand golden florins which the city advanced. With tears in his eyes Astorre de' Manfredi retired to Forli to the protection of Carlo Malatesta; he went thence to Urbino, complaining that the Legate had swindled him. In 1405 he was detected plotting to regain possession of the city which he had sold; the Legate captured him and gave him short shrift, for on the 25th November he had him executed.[1]

Meantime there had been a change in the Papacy at Rome, and it is necessary again to take up the story of the rival Popes. The Great Schism continued. Benedict the Thirteenth had regained the spiritual allegiance of the kingdoms within his obedience on terms which practically left him with a free hand, but still on the distinct understanding that he would do all that in him lay to put an end to the accursed Schism. After his long imprisonment he seemed inclined to rest on his oars awhile, contenting himself with gathering into his hands the reins of papal power, and making his rule firmly

[1] Tartini, ii. 540; Mur. xviii. 589.

felt in the countries which acknowledged it. He was very chary of acknowledging promotions which had been made during the subtraction; he effected numerous changes and reversions among the French bishops;[1] he gathered in all outstanding tithes, spoils, and annates, insisting on being paid in a certain currency.[2] He might, indeed, during this time have redeemed his promise of holding a general council of his obedience; but the French and Castilian prelates, of whom the majority of that council would have been composed, had been too lately in open revolt to allow him the hope that their proceedings would be decorous or respectful. He therefore, not having pledged himself to any fixed time or place for the meeting of the council, postponed it for the present.

It is necessary at this point to understand his position in order to grasp the trend of his future policy. His hands were practically free. He had from the beginning declared his preference for the method of terminating the Schism by the method known as the *via conventionis* or *via justiciae declarandae*. He was to meet his rival and to discuss the situation with him; and he had so great confidence in the legality and superiority of his own position, that he made no doubt of conquest in the argument and of thereby restoring to the Church the unity of which it had so long been deprived. For this end he was now to work. France had extended her sway over Genoa, Savona, and Leghorn; so would he extend his sway by argument, by diplomacy, if necessary by force. He soon saw Genoa and Savona won to his obedience; he determined to send embassies to Rome to work for the *via conventionis*. He was ready to feel his way to a *coup de main*; he was ready himself to go to Genoa or even further.[3] The one method which he was not ready to embrace, which he regarded as a dereliction of duty and as fatal to the hope of unity in the Church, was the *via cessionis*. He was clear that in the *via conventionis*, not in the *via cessionis*, was the welfare of the Church to be sought; and there is no reason to doubt that this was, apart from all self-seeking, his deliberate conscientious opinion.

[1] Kehrmann, 109. [2] Martene, ii. 1302-3. [3] Ehrle, vii. 579.



JOHN, DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

Very soon he was forcibly reminded that, although obedience had been restored to him, France expected him without delay to do his utmost to restore unity to the Church. On the 27th April 1404, in the sixty-third year of his age, died Philip of Burgundy. He was succeeded by his son John the Fearless, a more impetuous and determined but a less intelligent man than his father, who inherited to the full all his animosity against the Duke of Orleans and against the Pope. On New Year's Day 1404, Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, who had flattered the Pope only two months before, preached at Tarascon a sermon before Benedict and his cardinals, which must have opened their eyes, if that were necessary, to the state of public feeling. Gerson was at the head of the moderate party in the University: he had been opposed to the subtraction of obedience; he had welcomed its restitution. But he was above all a patriotic Frenchman; he hated the tyranny and financial oppression of the Duke of Orleans, from whom the poor everywhere prayed to be delivered;[1] his fatherland was dearer to him than the mere idea of a universal Church;[2] he was a disciple of Henry of Langenstein, and was of opinion that if the best way of ending the Schism, the 'way of cession,' was impracticable, then recourse must be had to the 'way of a council.' In his sermon he insisted that the welfare of the Church was the paramount object, superior even to that of obedience to him whom they might deem to be rightful Pope; that to this end all were bound to work, even the Pope himself. He reminded Benedict that Christ had said, 'Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister,' and 'The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.' The independent, straightforward orator insisted that for extraordinary situations extraordinary remedies were necessary, that the boon of peace to the Church was so great, so insistent, that nothing should stand to hinder it; that it were better to abandon the rightful Pope and for a time to have no Pope, if so the Church might win unity and peace. Even if the canon law were against them, the divine law gave no uncertain sound. The welfare of the Church was the paramount object; it were

[1] *Religieux*, iii. 232. [2] Bess, 40.

better for the Church even to do without a Pope for a time if so they might win peace; salvation was possible without a Pope. Therefore the plan of an œcumenical council was not to be rejected even though it might decide against them; although such a council might be fallible in matters of fact, yet they were to believe that, under the present circumstances, in which the wit of man could find no better expedient, the Holy Ghost would in its own wondrous way guide the council to a right conclusion.[1] This outspoken discourse created no small stir. It angered the Duke of Orleans, with whom Pierre d'Ailly spoke for the orator. Pope Benedict hastened to thank the University for their good counsel; he assured them that it was unnecessary, seeing that anxiety for the unity of the Church was never absent from his mind, and that he was ready to lay down his life for the Church.

It clearly behoved the Pope to do something, and he accordingly determined to send an embassy to his rival; he would convert him to the 'way of convention.' He selected two bishops and two Franciscan friars. They took their way to Florence, and the prior of that city procured a safe-conduct from Rome for them, and sent an ambassador of his own with them; two Roman bishops met them outside Rome and conducted them to their inn. Boniface at first refused to see them unless they would do him the customary honours as Pope; but they answered that they could not kneel to him nor kiss his foot nor do anything in derogation of their own master. It was represented to the Pope that his own envoys would have made the same answer to Benedict; he was nettled, but gave way. The object of the embassy was to bring about a convention, a meeting of the Popes, with a view to ending the Schism. But Boniface had made no promise to resign conditionally, as had Benedict; he was the canonically elected Pope; he had been spending freely from the vast wealth he had amassed in order to win back the papal estates. Now when the might of Milan was crumbling in the north, when the might of Naples was quiescent in the south, when Bologna, Perugia, and Assisi, the centre of Italy, had been won back to his obedience, there arrived this embassy

[1] Schwab, 171-8.

suggesting abdication. It was more than he could bear with equanimity. He would not hear of the proposed meeting; it was impossible for him to make the journey, for he was suffering from gout, from stone, and from gravel. Benedict's bishops then suggested that the cardinals of both obediences should meet and confer together; but neither would Boniface agree to this. Their third proposition was that an equal number of arbitrators should be appointed by each side; but Boniface rejected this proposal also, and asked if they had anything further to suggest.[1] They admitted that they had not, but reproached him with going back on his former good resolutions; they dwelt in glowing terms on the horrors of the Schism, and insinuated that he was the cause of its continuance. Boniface, hardly able to stand from the pain he was suffering, fired up; he told them in his anger that he was the true Pope, that Benedict was an Anti-Pope, schismatic, a heretic, and no Christian. The ambassadors quietly answered that at any rate their master was not a simoniac. This repartee was too much for the Pope; he ordered them at once to quit the city; they answered that they had a safe-conduct from him and from the Roman people and that they meant to avail themselves thereof. The heated interview, which occurred on the 29th September 1404, threw the Pope into a fever; a stone in the neck of the bladder caused him excruciating agony; on the 1st October he received the extreme unction.

Pope Boniface was dead. He had just passed his fiftieth year: he was a strong Pope; handsome, stalwart, and courteous; a born ruler of men. But he was utterly simoniacal; he exacted the first-fruits before making a promotion; he was not ashamed to sell benefices twice or thrice over; he introduced grants of 'preference' and of 'pre-preference'; he sold exemptions from canonical restrictions, rights to hold pluralities, permissions to monks to exchange from one order to another, or from a mendicant to a non-mendicant order. He would not even sign an order on a petition without receiving a ducat.[2] On the other hand, he spent the greater part of his wealth on the Church, although he also gave liberally to his mother, his brothers, and his nephews. Whatever manner of life he may have lived

[1] Tartini, ii. 513.

[2] Mur. iii. 831; Creighton, i. 132, 182.

in his earlier years, he changed it entirely as soon as he assumed the tiara; thenceforward no one could cast an aspersion on his moral character. He relied but little on the advice of his cardinals. His successor was his chief man of confidence; and whereas Urban the Sixth in his eleven years of office had created between sixty and seventy new cardinals, Boniface the Ninth in the thirteen years which elapsed before he raised Baldassare Cossa to the purple created but four. Two of his cardinals, however, themselves became Popes.

The death of Boniface, now that his firm hand and rule were no more, threw his rival's ambassadors into a quandary as to their own safety. They consulted the cardinals, who advised them to remain where they were. They, however, determined to escape from Rome if possible, but they were captured by the Commandant of the Castle as they were leaving by the Bridge of Sant Angelo. They were in prison for ten days, and had to pay a ransom of five thousand florins to regain their freedom. Then began negotiations between them and the Roman cardinals as to the election of a new Pope. The French ambassadors suggested that the election should be deferred; Pope Benedict was willing to do anything, they said, to put an end to the Schism. The Roman cardinals wanted to know if he would abdicate. The ambassadors of Benedict had no orders as to that; it would be useless to send for orders, seeing Benedict would not consent to the way of cession, which was neither just nor reasonable.[1] This announcement was received in Paris with great chagrin, and alienated many of the nobles from the cause of their Pope. The nine cardinals who were then in Rome decided on the 12th October to enter into conclave; on the 17th they elected Cosmato de' Megliorati as Pope, who took the name and title of Innocent the Seventh.

The new Pope was a man of middle stature, born of a rather humble family of Sulmona. He was a Doctor of the canon and the civil law, a mild, benign man, who had been fully trusted by his predecessor, but who was notwithstanding utterly averse from pomp and simony. Like the other cardinals, he had taken oath that, if elected, he would do all that in him lay to end the Schism; but he never ceased to

[1] *Religieux*, iii. 246, 254.

reproach Pope Benedict with his failure to resign at the death of Boniface the Ninth. He lost no time himself in attempting to keep his word, for on the 24th December he issued invitations to all the bishops and princes of his obedience, and among others he invited King Sigismund of Hungary to appear on the next Feast of All Saints (1st November 1405), to confer with him as to the most convenient way of ending the Schism.[1] His troubles with the turbulent populace of Rome, and the influence of King Ladislas of Naples, were, however, too much for Pope Innocent. Ladislas, whose astuteness and craft the Visconti might have envied, had come to Rome, not in time to coerce the cardinals, but immediately after the election. He had patched up a peace in his own interest, the Colonnas and the Savelli being on his side, between the Pope and the people of Rome; he had got himself made Rector of the Campania and Maritima for five years; and he had also induced the Pope to promise not to agree to any plan for the union of the Church which did not include the recognition of King Ladislas in the peaceful possession and title of all his present possessions.[2] This scouting the pretensions of the Duke of Orleans to the crown of Naples was a fatal bar to any accommodation with France, and consequently there was very little hope of any agreement with the Pope at Avignon.

The French had induced Genoa[3] and Pisa[4] to acknowledge the obedience of Benedict. They had made overtures to Florence, but the wary republicans made answer that, although there was nothing they would more gladly see than the termination of the Schism, yet the matter was too high for their interference. Over Pisa the French and Florentines had been like to come to disagreement, for the Duke of Orleans had pretensions to the city. Gabriel Maria, despairing of resisting the attacks of Florence, had thrown himself on the protection of the King of France, declaring that he held his lands as a fief from Charles the Sixth; and the Duke of Orleans had on the 24th May 1404 obtained the Signiory of Pisa. In the end, however, as will be seen, the republic had its way.

[1] Goeller, 12.
[2] *Ibid.* 12.
[3] Boucicaut, 314.
[4] Capponi, i. 412.

Benedict's ambassadors, as they journeyed homeward, received at Florence a letter from the Cardinal of Aquileia, suggesting that they should return to Rome to renew the negotiations broken off by the death of Boniface. They were willing, and asked for a safe-conduct, which the new Pope for some reason refused to grant.[1] On this Benedict determined himself to go to Italy in person; he thought that when once he was on Italian soil, his rival might agree to meet him and to discuss the situation. This determination to put the 'way of convention' into practice met with the warm approval of the King of France, and it was resolved to levy a tenth from the clergy for the expenses of the journey. The tithe was to be paid not only by the secular clergy, but also by the monks and the universities. The attempt to tax them, however, at once aroused the wrath of the University of Paris, and set them in renewed opposition to Pope Benedict. The recent freedom of the Gallican Church from papal taxation and control was a lesson which had been learned and would not soon be forgotten. The University was eager to put it in force again.

Pope Benedict meantime having received 120,000 francs, on the 7th May 1405 set sail with six galleys from Nice, five or six of his cardinals remaining behind through fear. He called at Monaco, Albenga, and Savona, and on the 16th May made a triumphal entry into the port of Genoa. Genoa, said one of the official orators, was to be for Benedict the *janua ad tollendum Schisma*, the gate by which he was to enter Italy in order to suppress the Schism. He renewed his proposition for a conference with Pope Innocent; but his rival refused to believe in his good faith and declined to listen to his proposals. Benedict denounced Innocent and his cardinals for their discreditable conduct, and would have been ready to adopt the 'way of fact,' could he have obtained the necessary physical force.[2] No king, not even the King of France, would help him; war broke out in Tuscany and forbade his further advance; a plague of dysentery made its appearance in Genoa, and Pope Benedict was obliged on the 8th October to retrace his steps to Savona, where he remained till June 1406.[3] He

[1] Ehrle, vii. 587. [2] Valois, iii. 405-7. [3] Ehrle, vii. 589.

was forced to await events; for the present the 'way of convention' was closed to him.

As might have been expected, the exactions of the Pope from the Church since the restitution of obedience had caused great discontent through France. Jean Petit complained that when a clerk was appointed to a benefice, the Pope took the first year's revenue, the heirs of the deceased incumbent took the second, the Church itself took the third, and the new priest had to wait four or five years before he drew a penny from his living. Bishops and abbés were obliged to sell or mortgage their palaces or convents to satisfy the papal demands; services and spoils had been increased; the Pope had drawn from France since 1403 no less than 1,200,000 francs, nearly a king's ransom. Three weeks later, Pierre Plaoul attacked the letter from the University of Toulouse defending Pope Benedict, and demanded the criminal trial of its writers. The doctors of the Norman nation, Simon de Cramaud, Jean Petit, Gilles des Champs, Jean Courtecuisse, with the whole Faculty of Canon Law at their backs, were hot for the Burgundian policy of subtraction of obedience, in opposition to the Faculty of Theology and the Orleanist party. The dispute was referred to Parliament, which naturally sided with the lawyers. Juvenal des Ursins, the King's advocate, announced that the memorial from the University of Toulouse was to be burned, and that the King was justified in opposing the Pope's frequent demands for money. As to the subtraction of obedience, the question was referred to the Council of the Clergy to be held at the close of the year. The dissatisfaction with Benedict was not confined to France, for the King of Castile had at the end of 1405 sent an embassy proposing that both Popes be required to abdicate, and that the one who refused be condemned as schismatic.

The fourth Council of the Clergy was held at Paris, sixty-four prelates and doctors assembling at the palace on the 18th November 1406. Although not so numerously attended as the Council of 1398, it lasted for five weeks and was marked by much heated argument. Three orators defended the cause of the University; the same number pleaded that of the Pope. Mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Rouen, and then

the divines betook themselves to the small hall of the palace on the Seine, where in the presence of the Dauphin and of the Dukes of Berri and Anjou the Doctors of the University undertook to prove that, inasmuch as Benedict had refused to abdicate, it was necessary again to subtract the obedience of France from him. The discussion was opened by Pierre-les-Bœufs, followed by Jean Petit. The irascible Norman characterised both Popes as schismatic and suspected of heresy; the restitution of obedience to Benedict had been conditional, and the conditions had not been fulfilled, so that France ought once again to secede from the Pope who had broken his word. Then followed Simon de Cramaud, the Patriarch of Alexandria. His speech contained much heat but very little argument. He had been on the council of Popes, kings, dukes, and princes; he had been ten years Chancellor to the Duke of Berri; yet had he never heard better or more wholesome reasoning than that of the University. He called the rival Popes foxes and schismatics, and cited a gloss from the Decretal to prove that when a Pope makes a schism, he should be condemned without mercy. He saw no need for appeal to Rome; French causes should be tried in France. His speech contained a premonition of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. He advocated the renewed subtraction of obedience, after which they could endeavour to bring about a joint council of both obediences, in order to procure the cession of both Popes.[1] The advocates for Pope Benedict replied on Monday the 3rd December.

Guillaume Filastre expressed his astonishment that the council should take upon itself to judge the Pope; he reminded them how King Uzziah had been smitten with leprosy when he interfered with the High Priest; and this unfortunate reference to a royal malady got the orator into trouble. The Dean of Reims was followed next day by the Archbishop of Tours, who pointed out that never had any schism been cured by the 'way of cession' but rather by the 'way of a council.' The next session was fixed for the 11th, on which day Pierre d'Ailly was to speak. The Bishop of Cambrai spoke temperately and calmly, although at considerable length. He referred to the time when the King had supported him at the College of Navarre, to the time when he was the King's Almoner, to

[1] Chastenet, *Preuves*, 118-24.

the time he had spent at his dearly beloved University, on behalf of whose Faculty of Theology he was then speaking. He claimed to represent twenty-seven doctors of that Faculty, one of whom was the Chancellor of Nôtre Dame, 'and what a man and what a clerk he is, every one knows.' D'Ailly would indeed have preferred that the whole matter should have been laid before the Faculty of Theology for a pious opinion to be referred to a general council. He deprecated the 'way of cession,' for they had no assurance that the rival Pope would abdicate; he preferred the convocation of a general council of their own obedience, which would certainly be inspired by the Holy Spirit. He then proceeded to deal with the charges of heresy and schismatic conduct brought so lightly against Benedict; the Patriarch of Alexandria had even called him a heresiarch, or prince of heretics. At this uprose in wrath Simond de Cramaud, and pointed out that he had not spoken of himself but on authority; that it was written that those who divide the Church are heretics and sin against the article of unity, and that those who damnably hold the Church in schism are heresiarchs; so said the holy doctors. The Bishop meekly remarked that the words of the doctors were to be read with the understanding also; to which the Patriarch rejoined that they would settle their difference at the next general council. Pierre d'Ailly, after this interruption, proceeded to examine the charges brought against Pope Benedict of heresy and schismatic conduct. It was well known that both he and Jean Gerson declined to hold any man a heretic simply because he was of the opposite obedience; if a man honestly strove for the reunion of the disrupted Church, he was entitled to receive the right hand of fellowship. The question whether the Pope was heretic and schismatic, said D'Ailly, was a matter of faith, which should in the first place have been referred to the Faculty of Theology; and in no case could the Pope be condemned in his absence, nor until found guilty by a general council. No one could be held to be schismatic who did not pertinaciously refuse to work for the union of the Church; whereas Benedict had sent to Rome and to Florence, had sent ambassadors to Boniface, had expressed his readiness to abdicate although on conditions which

were not acceptable to those in authority, had confirmed his willingness to do all that he had promised to do, and was perfectly ready to call a general council of his obedience. How, then, could they call a Pope schismatic who had worked and was ready still to work for the union? Then as to the charge of heresy. A heretic was one who persistently doubts or errs in the Catholic faith. A man is not a heretic who honestly desires to know the truth. There were seven different descriptions of heretics, but under none of them did Benedict fall. It was safer for the King and the kingdom, concluded the speaker, to refer and remit these matters to a general council, than to determine themselves or again to subtract the spiritual allegiance of France from Pope Benedict. The oration of the Bishop of Cambrai was universally admitted to have been a masterpiece. The University in wrath disclaimed him. His opponents claimed a right of reply.

One of them, the Abbé of Saint Michel, pointed out that Christ had given a command simply to feed His sheep, not to shear them; to which the witty Dean of Reims, the future cardinal, replied that in his part of the country it was the duty of the good shepherd to shear his sheep as well as to feed them, from which he concluded that the Pope had a right to do both. The argument waxed hot; in vain did D'Ailly play the moderator; in vain he urged that a subtraction of obedience had already been tried and had already failed; it was clear that the majority was in favour of such a measure. On the 3rd January 1407 the Chancellor closed the debate; the votes were to be given in writing; they were delivered, not to the Dauphin or any royal Duke, but to Simon de Cramaud, Patriarch of Alexandria, much to the disgust of the clergy. The University obstinately declared in favour of a total subtraction of obedience, but the great majority were in favour of a partial measure, taking from the Pope the temporalities, but leaving him the spiritualities,[1] the measure which D'Ailly himself had counselled about a year before. The Patriarch himself agreed to this compromise (4th January), as did also the royal Dukes, and the King formally approved it on the 11th February. Before, however, the King had signed the

[1] Christophe, iii. 224.

ordinances for the renewed subtraction of obedience, there arrived at Paris the news of the death of Pope Innocent the Seventh; and there were many, and Jean Gerson was among the number, who hoped that the Roman cardinals would abstain from a new election, and that the Great Schism would now be terminated by the universal acceptance of Benedict as sole Pope of Christendom.[1] Their fond expectations were doomed to speedy disappointment.

The days of Pope Innocent the Seventh had not been long in the land. As Bishop and as Archbishop he had been known and loved by the people of Bologna, and his coronation was welcomed with a grand joust, in which Paolo Orsini, soon to be called to the new Pope's service, took part. The reign of Innocent was chiefly spent in contention with the turbulent people of Rome, who had risen in revolt as soon as the strong hand of Boniface was removed by death. The party of the Ghibelines, under Nicolo and Giovanni Colonna and Baptista Savelli, demanded the ancient freedom and rights of the city. Ladislas of Naples, anxious that the lordship of Rome should belong neither to the Pope nor the people, but to himself, appeared with an army, made peace between the citizens and the Pope, and was recognised as Protector of the Holy Roman Church. His present design was to gain the rule over all those States of the Church which the Pope at Avignon had given to his rival, the Duke of Anjou. But the people of Rome were very fickle; quarrels broke out again between the Colonnas and the Pope; Ladislas sent his troops to aid the Colonna party; but the Romans turned against his general, the Count of Troja, and against the Colonnas. Certain heads of the populace went one day in August to hold an amicable parley with Innocent, and as they were riding homeward eleven of them were treacherously seized by the Pope's nephew, Ludovico de' Megliorati, and were slain in cold blood. Horrified at the outrage, the aged pontiff escaped to Viterbo from the wrath of the citizens. Baldassare Cossa and the men of Bologna heard what had happened, and sent asking Innocent to take refuge with them, offering him a sum of money for his expenses.[2] The Pope thanked them for their kindness and courtesy,

[1] Schwab, 190. [2] Raumer, 186.

assured them that if he had to leave Viterbo he would come to Bologna, but bided his time. He sent for Paolo Orsini to join his two generals, Mustarda of Forli and his nephew Ludovico. Innocent saw that Ladislas had been playing entirely for his own hand, and in June 1406 he issued Bulls against him from Viterbo; but a peace was arranged between Paolo Orsini and the Pope's nephew on the one side and the Counts of Troja and Carrara on the other. The Romans saw that it was a choice for them of being ruled by the Pope or by King Ladislas, and they therefore sent to Viterbo, begging Innocent to return to Rome, and offering him full *dominium* over the city as it had been held by Boniface. Their message reached the Pope just after he had been afflicted with a stroke of paralysis—a judgment of God, said the pious, meant to quicken the Pope to work for the union of the Church. Innocent was delighted, and returned triumphantly to Rome. He had been unable to bring off the council which he had proposed; he had postponed it in the first instance to the 1st May, and had invited the German prelates to take part therein, but they were too engrossed in what was happening at Marbach to respond. The Pope himself was not at Rome at that time, and had been absolutely unable to hold the council as he had designed. Even if it had been held, it could have effected little, regard being had to the binding nature of the Pope's agreement with King Ladislas. King Henry of Castile sent ambassadors to him and to his rival, urging them to abdicate; but Innocent had called his council, and the ambassadors declined to disclose his reply to Pope Benedict. The King then sent ambassadors to his own Pope to persuade him to call a council; Benedict issued Bulls for a council in Marseilles, if practicable; if not, the council was to be held at Perpignan.[1] Before the Bulls were published, however, there came the news of his rival's death. Innocent did not live long after his return to Rome: he died on the 6th November 1406 from a third attack of apoplexy, his mouth being twisted over his shoulder—a sure sign, according to the clergy, of God's judgment on him for not ending the Schism.

Baldassare Cossa meantime had not been idle at Bologna.

[1] Ehrle, vii. 593.

Beside other works of public utility, he had pushed on the erection of the new fortress at the Porta Galliera, which he had commenced as soon as Pope Boniface, shortly before his death, had ordered the destruction of the three-year-old fortress of the Visconti. He had also, as already mentioned, finally settled the account with the Lord of Faenza. He had discovered a new plot to assassinate himself and to hand over Bologna to Nanne Gozzadini. The traitors, as the historian remarks, never learned to work secretly;[1] and they had suffered the necessary reward for their crime. The arch conspirator, Nanne himself, did not venture as far as Bologna, but remained at Ferrara, where he died in the arms of the Marquess on the 29th July 1407, bitterly regretting the day when he had refused the Signiory of his native city. Forli also fell before the arms of the cardinal, who built a citadel there; and in May of the same year (1406) he drove back and dispersed the exiles from Perugia, who had assembled in the marches with a view to machinations on that papal city.[2] But his hardest bit of warfare had been that waged with the Constable Alberigo da Barbiano.

Bologna was dependent for its supply of grain on the country round, and was subject to scarcity or famine with the variation of the seasons. There was such a time of scarcity in the spring of 1405. On a previous occasion Baldassare Cossa had taken an inventory of all the grain in the town, and had confiscated all that was found and had not been declared, selling the corn thus obtained, and returning the price to the owners. This rough-and-ready method had tided over the former difficulty without inflicting too great hardship on the Bolognese. On the present occasion he had arranged for a large convoy of grain to be brought from the Romagna. It was intercepted by the Constable. The Legate sent messengers to demand the grain, but they returned empty-handed. The Constable on his side demanded Faenza and the Castle of San Pietro, and presented a long bill for arrears of pay due, as he said, to him for his services to Bologna. These services related to the war with Milan, when Bologna was captured by the Duke Gian Galeazzo.[3] This was before the Legate's time, and he

[1] Ghirar, ii. 570. [2] Tartini, ii. 566. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 563.

accordingly referred the claim to the Council of the city. The councillors rejected the claim, and voted for war with the Constable. To secure a present supply of grain, the Legate ceded to Florence a certain place, named Piancaldolo, famous for the mill-stones made there. The war with the Constable was short and satisfactory. He had rejected the mediation of the Marquess of Ferrara, of Carlo Malatesta, and others. He was defeated, and the Castle of Lojano and other places fell into the hands of the masterful cardinal before peace was made. By thus capturing the villages of the Constable, Baldassare Cossa still further incurred the wrath of King Ladislas of Naples, who announced that Alberigo da Barbiano was under his special protection.[1] As soon as peace was made the Legate put to death one of his own generals who had refused to follow him when ordered. The Castle of Crevalcore was also recovered for the Church from the Marquess of Ferrara.

In the species of guerilla warfare which was then so common over Northern Italy, the Papal Legate could hold his own with the best condottiere generals. He met force with force; he was ready with a word and a blow, and the blow first; he detected treason before it was ripe, punished the traitors ruthlessly, and pardoned the innocent liberally.[2] The turbulence of the men of Bologna, and the need for a strong arm over them, may be gauged by the fact that the Castello di Galliera founded by Baldassare Cossa, was five times built, and five times destroyed by popular tumult. In a time of restless warfare and intrigue, the Papal Legate was a match for his enemies. He ruled with an iron hand, but his rule brought peace and prosperity to Bologna, and the citizens were well pleased with his government.[3] When he heard of the death of Pope Innocent the Seventh, he started for Rome to take part in the conclave, but on the road he was met by the news that the cardinals had already met, so that, knowing that his presence would be useless, he returned to Bologna.

All Europe was at this time most desirous that the disruption in the Church should be healed. It was the manifest duty of the Emperor to convoke a Council for that purpose; but the sloth and incapacity of King Wenzel, who had neglected even

[1] Mur. xx. 310. [2] Ghirar, ii. 571. [3] Raumer, 186.

to get himself crowned Emperor, had proved a fatal hindrance in the fourteenth century, and from the close of that century onwards the country which should have been foremost in the work of healing, was itself suffering not only from the religious but also from a civil schism. Nor was there apparently more hope from Wenzel's rival. Very gradually had the virtuous and well-intentioned King Rupert strengthened his position in the western half of Germany, until in 1405 he there reached the zenith of his power. Unfortunately for him, his virtues were as fatal to him as his weakness. He endeavoured to do the work of an Emperor by maintaining the public peace and order; and to that end he destroyed nine castles in the Wetterau, whence had been wont to sally bands of freebooters, murdering and pillaging the merchants of Swabia, Thuringia, Hesse, and the Wetterau. The work of destruction was good and necessary; it was accomplished in the interest of the welfare of the Empire; but the castles were, as it happened, within the boundaries and jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Mainz. Rupert had forgotten that 'no man can enter into a strong man's house and spoil his goods, except he will first bind the strong man.' The King had neglected to bind that very strong man, John of Nassau, Archbishop of Mainz.

Henceforth it was to be a duel between Rupert, King of the Romans, and the First Elector of the Empire, and the Elector was to prove the better man. John of Nassau lost no time. On the 14th September the League of Marbach was made between him, the Count of Wuerttemberg, the Markgraf of Baden, the citizens of Strasburg, and seventeen imperial cities of Swabia. Its ostensible purpose was the mutual defence and protection of the parties thereto; but the confederacy was really directed against King Rupert, and he knew it. He resolved, if possible, to checkmate his opponents. He assembled a diet at Mainz on the 6th January, its express object being to dissolve this confederation which had been made without his authority and without the permission of the Empire; he harangued the confederates, pointing out how false they were to the principles of the Empire; he even supplicated them to abandon their league; but they obstinately stood their ground. The fight was really as to whether

Germany should be an Empire of a Confederation, whether the kingly principle or that of confederacies should govern the Empire and mould its future. King Rupert was obliged to give way, and on the 19th December 1406 he formally admitted that confederacies to secure the public peace might lawfully be made without his permission. The spirit of confederacy, whereby cities, nobles, or knights, regardless of the royal authority and disregarding the wider interest of the kingdom, bound themselves for short terms of years to act together for their common defence or advancement, waxed stronger and stronger throughout the Empire; and at the same time the position of the King of the Romans became more ineffective and superfluous. The Empire was in danger of losing its unity and of splitting up into a number of temporary confederations, with little continuity of purpose, and with no settled central force for guidance or preservation amid the vortex of European politics.

With the death about this time (6th November 1406) of Pope Innocent the Seventh, and the rise to supreme politico-ecclesiastical power in Italy of the Papal Legate, Baldassare Cossa, the friend of John of Nassau, there appeared in the Empire a third party in the Church, ostensibly headed by the Elector of Saxony, and aiming at neutrality between the rival Popes. Henceforth the strife lay between this party under John of Nassau, Archbishop of Mainz, and the old orthodox Roman party, under King Rupert. But the King's power and influence were visibly diminishing; he was obliged in more than one instance to go back on his former virtuous resolutions in the matters of tolls and of hypothecations. Certain of the nobles and cities, hitherto loyal to him, were making terms with King Wenzel; his only effective ally in Italy, Francesco of Carrara, had been imprisoned and executed by the Venetians; and the Burgundian dukes, John and Anthony, were drawing nearer to King Wenzel, thus making good to that King the loss of influence he sustained through the murder (1407) of the Duke of Orleans.

As soon as Pope Innocent the Seventh died, Baldassare Cossa attempted to go to Rome for the new election, but, as already mentioned, had returned to Bologna. Next year (1407), at the

desire of the new Pope Gregory the Twelfth, a council was held in the city to consider the best means of ending the Schism. The citizens offered Bologna for the meeting of the two Popes, and agreed to give hostages for the safety of Benedict. To this end the Papal Legate sent two ambassadors to Avignon on the 9th March, but they returned on the 6th May, having effected nothing. The Spaniard was not the man to trust himself in the hands of Baldassare Cossa. The 'way of cession' had been tried against him; the University of Paris, no less than the French court, had insisted on this plan; the more moderate party, headed by Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, had deemed this to be the most efficacious remedy. But the plan had failed. Pope Benedict the Thirteenth had from the beginning declared himself against it; he had pointed out its inherent weakness; on grounds which were certainly plausible he had refused to agree to abdicate; and the attempt to bring about or force his abdication by a subtraction of obedience from him had been made, and it had utterly failed. His representations had been scouted, and the proposals which he had made had never been fairly considered. He still professed himself to be as anxious as ever to end the Schism; but he was in favour of a different plan; he was in favour, and had always been in favour, of the 'way of convention.' The slightly built, handsome little Pope was a man of great fixity of purpose and determination of character; his adversaries had tried their 'way of cession' with him and had failed; he desired now to try the method which he had advocated from the commencement: he wanted to meet his adversary in the way and to confer with him.

Benedict was now, after his escape from captivity, in a much stronger position than before. France had returned to its obedience; Provence was devoted to him. Backed by the Duke of Orleans and the University of Toulouse, his was henceforth the dominating figure in the Riviera. He no longer remained permanently at Avignon; he stayed at the Cistercian monastery in the island of Lerins; he visited Nice and Villa Franca for change of air; he knew the pirate city Monaco, of the Grimaldi, and the picturesque castle, Dolce Acqua, of the Doria. The country along the coast, where the ruins of old castles still crown

the rocky precipices jutting up from fir-clad hills, where the grey-green olive trees spring from the dull red earth and the dull grey rock, where the almond and the orange brighten the most sombre months of winter, the Riviera was the country of Benedict from the time he escaped to Château Renard until the time when he started for Savona and Porto Venere. He was now determined to propose a meeting at which he and his rival might arrange for the future unity of the Church. If he might remain Pope, he was willing that his rival should be first cardinal; and he had no doubt as to the result of the meeting: he meant to remain Pope.

The death of Innocent the Seventh and the election of his successor was apparently to bring Benedict's 'way of convention' within the range of practical politics.

# CHAPTER VII

## THE WAY OF CONVENTION

One method of ending the Schism which, to us after the event, seems tolerably simple, but which did not until August 1407[1] enter into the serious contemplation of any of the reigning powers at the time, would have been to procure from each College of Cardinals the assurance that, in the event of the death of its Pope, it would not at once proceed to a new election, but would allow time for negotiation. Pope Benedict the Thirteenth had not, it must be remembered, at any time prior to the subtraction of obedience, promised that he would resign on the death of his rival; and all the world knew what little consideration he gave to any promise extracted from him during that time of stress. Naturally neither College would have given an assurance to abstain from a new election unless certain that its rival would do the like; but Charles the Sixth and King Wenzel, acting in concert, should have been able to procure such assurances from the respective Colleges of the Popes whose obedience they acknowledged. As soon as either Pope actually did die, earnest endeavours were made to procure the postponement of the new election; but in those days of slow communication, each College moreover being loth to trust itself to the tender mercies of a Pope who had excommunicated it, and being hence in a hurry to protect itself by a fresh election, these endeavours were always too late. After the death of Pope Clement, the news took six days to reach Paris; and the King's messenger, riding his hardest, took three days to reach Avignon, and the cardinals were entering into conclave when he arrived. The news of the death of Pope Innocent for some reason took more than six weeks to travel

[1] Schwab, 205.

from Rome to Paris. Pope Benedict had already written to the magistrates of Rome and to certain members of the Orsini family, asking them to persuade the cardinals not to proceed to a new election, offering to join them, and to sacrifice everything for the union of the Church; but they apparently believed as little in his sincerity as had the late Pope before them. Before the death of Innocent, the Duke of Berri had written to the cardinals, entreating them not to elect a new Pope on his death;[1] and Gilles des Champs, 'master of theology and counsellor to the King of France,' being then in Rome, did his best to delay the entry into conclave.

When the news of Innocent's death reached Paris, the desire was strongly expressed that a new election should be postponed, that Benedict should be required to resign, and that the united Colleges of Cardinals should together elect a new Pope for Christendom, and thus terminate the Schism. King Charles the Sixth, by the advice of his Council, wrote on the 23rd December to the fourteen cardinals then in Rome, begging them to postpone their entrance into conclave pending receipt of an embassy from him. Giovanni the Dominican at Florence, as soon as he heard of the Pope's death, went to the magistrate and besought him to send an embassy to the cardinals to postpone a fresh election. Giovanni himself was despatched in the name of the Republic to the College; but, like an austere friar, he travelled on foot. Both letter and friar arrived too late. The cardinals had at first hesitated, but they finally, notwithstanding the opposition of the Cardinal of Aquileia, decided to proceed to election, and they had already entered into conclave: they feared disturbances in Rome, they feared the machinations of King Ladislas.[2] A small window in the building where the cardinals were bricked up was, however, opened, and through this the friar delivered his message. His recommendation was declined, but he was told the comforting tale that he whom the cardinals would elect might be considered rather as their proctor to effect a union by abdication than as an actual Pope.[3]

The cardinals themselves were unfeignedly anxious to heal

[1] Sybel, xvii. 80.
[2] Mur. xix. 925; Sybel, xvii. 81.
[3] Brieger, ix. 245-6.

the disruption in the Church, and before entering the conclave they had determined to clear themselves in the eyes of all of any suspicion of guilt in prolonging the Schism. They accordingly, as a preliminary to the election, required each one of their number to swear (*a*) that the new pontiff would abdicate if his rival abdicated or died, and the cardinals of both obediences desired to unite; (*b*) that within one month of his election the new Pope would notify to his rival, to the King of the Romans, and to the other Kings of Christendom, his election and his readiness to abdicate or to take any other reasonable method of ending the Schism, and that within three months he would send plenipotentiaries to choose a fitting place for negotiating the Union; and (*c*) that pending this negotiation he would create no new cardinals, nor within a year afterwards, unless through the fault of his rival no such result had followed.[1] The cardinals then entered into conclave. It was near midnight on the 29th before they had made their choice. In the morning twilight of the 30th November 1406, a wet and cloudy day, the bells rang out and the cardinals announced that they had elected as Pope Angelo Corrario, a noble Venetian, about eighty years of age, Patriarch of Constantinople and Cardinal-Priest of Saint Mark, who took the title of Gregory the Twelfth. Gregory the Eleventh had terminated the captivity at Avignon; Gregory the Twelfth meant to terminate the Great Schism: such at least was his intention on Saint Andrew's Day 1406.

The new Pope was a tall man, mere skin and bone, but like many a thin man very fond of a good meal, and inordinately fond of sugar. He was pious, a friend of ascetics and mystics; somewhat of a fanatic, convinced of the righteousness of his own designs, and apt thereby to deceive the world and himself also; a mixture of good intentions and weak will, of impetuous enthusiasm and of what looked like crafty self-seeking. The cardinals had elected him because they deemed that he had one foot in the grave and would have time only to abdicate before he died; they had forgotten that bugbear and scandal of the papacy, the Pope's nephew. Urban the Sixth had been hampered by his nephew, the brutal Butillo, who had ravished

[1] Sybel, xvii. 85.

a high-born nun and brought about trouble with Charles of Durazzo. Innocent the Seventh had been hampered by his nephew, the treacherous Ludovico, who had captured and slain eleven peaceful Roman citizens and had caused his uncle's flight to Viterbo. Now the cardinals had elected a man with half a dozen nephews, all hungering clamorously for loaves and fishes. The new Pope was lamentably under the influence of his relatives, who were ever ready to play on his fears and apprehensions for their own advantage. He was a pitifully nervous old man, always ready to listen to those about him rather than to make up his mind for himself. From such a character it was vain to expect consistency of action; and if Benedict the Thirteenth was like to become a hardened absolutist, Gregory the Twelfth was like to become to outward appearance a consummate actor. For such a Pope Baldassare Cossa, a man of determination and action, had naturally no more respect and sympathy than had his patron, Boniface the Ninth, before him.[1]

Pope Gregory was crowned in Saint Peter's on the 19th December 1406. He thanked God with tears in his eyes that he had been chosen as the means of restoring unity to the Church, and he was in earnest when he did so.[2] No sooner was he elected than he ratified his former vow and exhorted his cardinals to work with him for the peace of the Church. He wrote to the Pope and cardinals at Avignon; he sent forth an encyclical apprising the whole world of his resolution. The abdication of a legitimate Pope might, he admitted, be attended with inconvenience, but this was nothing compared with the evil of the prolongation of the Schism. He had ascended the apostolic seat not without apprehension, he would descend readily and joyfully; far from weighing on him, the obligation which he had contracted charmed him, for he was now so old that he had no further hopes in this world. Such was the old man's protestation, and it was truthful when first uttered. Great and universal was the joy at his accession and his profession; he was hailed as an 'angel' of light.[3] Gerson preached an eloquent sermon rendering thanks to the Almighty; the bells rang out everywhere for the approaching reunion of

[1] Mur. iii. 837. [2] Erler, 156. [3] *De Schismate*, 228.



Pope Gregory the Twelfth.

the Church; Siena and Bologna offered their shelter for the meeting of the two pontiffs; the only fear was lest Gregory might not live long enough to carry through the noble work. 'I am resolved to go wherever the union may be effected,' said he to his court; 'if I have no galleys, I will go in an open boat; if I have to go by land and can find no horses, I will travel on foot, staff in hand, rather than fail of my word.' It was impossible to speak more fairly or more clearly.

The new Pope had, however, no powerful civil authority, such as that of France, to help him forward in his design. The Italian policy of King Rupert had ended in utter failure; that of King Ladislas was opposed to any such scheme of abdication and of reunion of the Papacy. Gregory had overlooked this obstacle. He at first fixed on Bologna as the most fitting place of meeting for himself and Benedict to fulfil their grand renunciation. The council of the city was delighted with the proposal; and the Cardinal Legate, who had just escaped from another attempted assassination,[1] wrote to advise Gregory accordingly. The Pope acknowledged the grateful affection of the men of Bologna; and Baldassare Cossa on the 9th March despatched two envoys to Pope Benedict, offering him the use of the city and desiring to know what hostages he would wish delivered to him. The Pope thanked them for their offer, but said that he had two days before written to Rome agreeing to Savona as the place of meeting. The ambassadors returned to Bologna on the 6th May, just as the warlike Legate had recaptured the Rocca di Ravaldino, taken from the men of Forli, and had celebrated the event with grand joustings and rejoicings for three days, the Cardinal's own jousters wearing green, white, and red.[2]

Pope Benedict was at Marseilles with his cardinals when on the 14th January 1407 he received the first letter from Pope Gregory; and on the 31st he replied in characteristic earnest fashion. He was overwhelmed with joy; vainly had he worked with Boniface the Ninth and with Innocent the Seventh without obtaining any definite answer; but happy was the man to whom God had reserved the glory of terminating the Schism. Gladly would he and his cardinals meet his rival and the rival

[1] Ghirar, ii. 572.

[2] Mur. xviii. 594; Ghirar, ii. 574.

cardinals to confer with them in some sure and convenient place; gladly would he resign his rights if his rival did the same, in order that the two Colleges of Cardinals might unite and together elect the future Pope. He at once sent the safe-conduct for Gregory's embassy. All was fair to outward seeming though the negotiations might present difficulties.

The answer reached the Pope at Rome about the middle of February. Malatesta di Pesaro offered to be of the embassy, and came to Rome with a stately following and forty horses. Seeing that the Pope was straitened for cash, this was an offer not to be lightly set aside. To the disgust and distrust of the cardinals, whose advice he had promised to follow, Gregory declined the offer of Malatesta, and chose instead his own nephew Antonio, associating with him his treasurer, William the Norman, Bishop of Todi, and a celebrated Doctor of Law, Antonio di Butrio. By the 27th February everything was ready for their departure, yet they were detained in Rome for three weeks longer, and only left on the 18th or 19th March when the three months stipulated in the oath had fully expired.[1] The nephew might be trusted to safeguard his own and his uncle's interest; the two other ambassadors were stalwart advocates of the union. The cardinals at Pisa, however, subsequently declared that the two latter were merely men of straw, and that his nephew alone was entrusted with Gregory's real instructions[2] and with a sealed Bull.

On Thursday in Easter week (1st April) the three ambassadors landed at Marseilles, and on the 3rd were received by Benedict. Antonio Corrario began by demanding from the Spanish Pope a declaration that he was ready to abdicate, to which Benedict replied by reminding him that he had been present at the election of Pope Urban the Sixth, and knew that it was invalid, and that consequently he, Benedict, was rightful Pope. Antonio then declared that he had never been in favour of any 'way of convention,' that his uncle had no doubt as to his being the rightful Pope, but wished to avoid all discussions of a difficult question. On this basis, therefore, the discussion as to the place of meeting proceeded. Florence and Naples were suggested, but not Bologna;[3] the ambassadors

[1] Sybel, xvii. 112. [2] Mansi, xxvi. 1203. [3] Tartini, ii. 518.

proposed Rome, Viterbo, Todi, Siena, and Lucca; Benedict proposed Marseilles, Nice, Fréjus, Genoa, and Savona. The dispute waxed hot, and the ambassadors threatened to break off negotiations and to betake themselves to Paris.[1] Benedict begged them not to leave Marseilles. They asked for three persons, and three only, to meet them and to consult. Benedict agreed, and appointed the Cardinal de Thury, the Bishop of Lerida, and Franz of Aranda. These three met Gregory's three ambassadors, and fixed on Savona as the place of meeting. Antonio showed them a letter of his uncle declaring his willingness to go even to Ghent or Avignon if necessary. It was agreed that the two Popes should meet by Michaelmas or at any rate by All Saints' Day (1st November) to decide on and to accomplish their mutual abdication. Each was to be accompanied by the same number of armed galleys, not more than eight in all; and mutual precautions were arranged, as if two rival corsairs, instead of the two heads of Christendom, were to come together. From his consenting to a place of meeting so far from Rome and in which French influence must be predominant, from his stipulation as to the armed galleys which he knew that his uncle could not afford, it looks as if Antonio desired to accumulate difficulties for the future, rather than to ensure a meeting of the two Popes, at which his uncle might execute the wish which he had so often and so emphatically repeated.

The treaty of Marseilles was a diplomatic triumph for Pope Benedict. Savona, the little port on the Letimbro, halfway between San Remo and Genoa, had been fixed upon for their meeting. Now at length the 'way of convention,' so long battled for by Benedict, seemed open to him. Innocent the Seventh had openly doubted whether a legitimate Pope could be required to resign,[2] and had been smitten by God with a first stroke of apoplexy soon after; but his successor was apparently a man of different mind, for, as soon as his nephew returned Gregory accepted the place and the date proposed. There was still time for reflection, for the treaty was not to be ratified until the end of July. Had the two Popes and their cardinals met and conferred together, had no violent *coup de*

[1] Valois, iii. 504; Sybel, xvii. 116.

[2] *De Schismate*, 195.

*main* been attempted on either side, there would undoubtedly have been much intrigue and diplomacy; many high promises would have been made on both sides, but the final result can hardly be doubtful: the determined and eloquent little Spaniard would have emerged from the conference as the recognised single Pope of Christendom, and the weak and vacillating Venetian would have taken his place as the senior cardinal in the united College of Cardinals.

The 'way of convention' was, however, not yet fully open to Pope Benedict. Of the five methods for ending the Great Schism, the 'way of fact,' of which alone Pope Clement would hear, had been discarded as impolitic and dangerous; the 'way of compromise,' by the appointment of an equal number of arbitrators on each side, had never entered into serious consideration; the 'way of cession' was alone approved by the French court and by the extreme party in the University of Paris; failing that, the 'way of a council' had the approval of the more moderate party in the University; but the 'way of convention' was to all of them anathema, and was regarded as a mere subterfuge of the wily Pope Benedict. When he sent to the French court and to the clergy and the University copies of his letter to Pope Gregory, the allusion to the 'way of convention' was at once seized upon and condemned; the King was persuaded to sign the two ordonnances for the subtraction of obedience, although, thanks to the Duke of Orleans, their transmission to the Pope was delayed for the present; and an embassy of thirty-six members, comprising the extreme and the moderate shades of opinion, was despatched to urge him once more to abdicate. The embassy was to visit both Popes, and to urge them to abdicate without meeting; if they insisted on a conference, the embassy was to facilitate their wishes, and to propose certain towns, Genoa, Pisa, Lucca, Siena, or Florence, as the place for meeting.

The embassy reached Villeneuve on the 30th April; Gregory's three ambassadors had reached Marseilles on the 31st March, and Savona had already been agreed upon as the place of meeting. Pope Benedict knew Savona, Pope Gregory did not; and to one who knows the place, the suggestion that it should be used for a conference between two rival potentates

seems little better than a trap. The port is commanded by a huge mass of rock which was converted by the Genoese, a century and a half later, into a strong fortress; this fort and the more important part of the town are situated on the eastern side of the river. The Letimbro itself, though in the rains it swells into a mighty torrent, broad and deep, is for the most part of the year a tiny stream, trickling now on one side and now on the other of its stony bed; pickets might have been posted here and there, but it would be impossible to defend the banks against a night attack or a sudden surprise: in fact, the Pope who held the western part of the town would seem to be completely at the mercy of his rival on the eastern bank. But at that time there were two fortresses in the town: it was proposed that each Pope should hold one, and that the place should be divided into two equal zones; that each Pope should bring the same number of galleys, the same number of armed men, and the same number of retainers; that Savona should be under their joint command, and that all the roads and approaches to the town should be strictly guarded. Finally, Benedict allowed Gregory to take whichever zone he pleased.[1] It is small wonder then that Gregory at first professed himself content with the arrangement which had been made. His nephew had even gone so far as to welcome the offer of Genoese galleys to bring Pope Gregory to Savona.

All this made the work of the French embassy so much the simpler. When they arrived at Villeneuve on the 30th April, they learned the contents of the treaty made nine days earlier between the two Popes. At Aix a few days later they met the Cardinal de Thury and the ambassadors from Pope Gregory. The Patriarch of Alexandria, Simon de Cramaud, and others in his train were in doubt as to the reception they would meet from the Pope whom they had so often and so consistently traduced, but the Cardinal reassured them. Benedict, he said, was perfectly ready to abdicate. Antonio Corrario gave them the same assurance on behalf of his uncle. Gregory had said to him, 'Do you think, my dear nephew, that it is the obligation of my oath that obliges me to work

[1] Valois, iii. 506, note.

for peace? It is rather through Christian love that I am ready to abdicate; the desire for peace grows on me day by day. When shall I see that happy moment when I shall render peace to the Church?' De Thury and Antonio alike recommended them to adhere rather to the spirit than to the letter of their instructions, and to deal with Benedict sweetly and temperately, seeing that he was a proud man whom it was not wise to irritate or exasperate.[1] It was agreed that Antonio should return at once to Rome to carry the news of the treaty to his uncle.

The ambassadors reached Marseilles on the 9th May. Benedict sent his chamberlain and a large escort to meet them outside the city and to conduct them to the comfortable lodgings which he had provided. On the evening of that day, in the Abbey of Saint Victor, the Pope met and greeted them. It was a strange and memorable meeting. At the head of the ambassadors stood Simon de Cramaud, the most determined foe of the Pope, whose tiara he coveted. He was supported by the implacable Norman churchmen, who had all along been distinguished by their fierce opposition to their spiritual lord. There was Gilles des Champs, who at the embassy of the royal dukes had opened the proceedings by demanding the abdication of Pope Benedict. There was Pierre Plaoul, who, in the council of 1396, had pleaded long and earnestly for the subtraction of obedience. There was Jean Petit, who, as hot and as eager as any of the others, was about to earn for himself undying infamy as the apologist of political assassination. There were others of milder mood; but the Pope met and greeted them all alike. He addressed each by name, inquiring after his health and welfare. His kindly grace won all hearts. Those who had overwhelmed him with insults threw themselves before him, and kissed his feet, his hands, his face. The Pope, 'small in stature, in figure graceful, in countenance dignified,' exercised a magnetic attraction which not even his enemies could withstand.

Next day the public audience was held in the Abbey, and the Patriarch of Alexandria in the name of the embassy asked for fresh assurances from Pope Benedict. The Pope replied

[1] *Religieux*, iii. 582.

at once. He reminded them of the voyage which he had already at his great age undertaken to Genoa in the interest of the Church; he assured them that he had from the first been ready to abdicate, and explained that it would have been in vain for him to announce this intention unless and until he was certain that his rival was of like mind with himself, but that now that God had given him a man after his own heart to deal with, he was old and near the grave and had no other desire than to carry out the design which he had already notified to the King of France and to the Christian princes.[1] The ambassadors thanked him for his reply, and the further audience was adjourned till next day.

Unfortunately the ambassadors were not satisfied with the verbal promise of the Pope; they wanted it reduced to a formal Bull. This demand was set forth by the Archbishop of Tours on the 11th May. Benedict again took up his parable. The four things necessary to secure the end for which they were working, he told them, were confidence, concord, freedom of action, and speed. Why should they not trust their sovereign pontiff? If they trusted him, there was no need of a writing; if they did not trust him, it was useless to argue further. He had from the beginning proposed the 'way of convention,' and if he had been listened to, the union of the Church would have been effected thirteen years ago. He had offered to abdicate more clearly and frankly than his rival, but the most precise declarations were wrongly construed when once confidence was lost. He and his rival had now agreed on a place of meeting, and the Cardinal of Thury would assure them that it was not his fault that the meeting was not to take place earlier. Again the archbishop repeated his request, and again the Pope refused; he promised to send messengers to the ambassadors to reassure them on every point. Then the Pope spoke privately with Simon de Cramaud and others, refuting with touching simplicity the accusations which had been made against him at Paris; he protested that no taint of heresy had ever soiled his Christian faith. His reproaches were so full of kindly moderation that even his hardened antagonist could not contain himself: he burst into

[1] *Religieux*, iii. 588.

tears, threw himself at Benedict's feet, and craved his forgiveness:—'If I have against my soul's salvation calumniated my Father, I entreat him to have pity on me.'[1] The other doctors followed the example of their leader. The Pope pardoned them, and invited them to dine with him on the 15th. Simon de Cramaud, ashamed of his temporary weakness, and suspicious that he had been outwitted by the aged pontiff, sent an excuse, but the others accepted.

The ambassadors were in a quandary. The Pope gave them fair words, and promised everything they wanted, but he gave them nothing beyond words. They had been instructed to get from him a Bull, signifying his intention to abdicate; and they had been commissioned, if such Bull were not forthcoming, to publish the ordonnance of the renewed subtraction of obedience. Since they had been so commissioned, however, the rival Popes had arranged a meeting at Savona; hence it was clear that the publication might endanger that meeting and could do no good. Still they wanted the Bull; they wanted to tie the hands of the Pope, and to bind him down to the 'way of cession,' whereas it was clear from his talk about liberty of action that he had not given up all thought of the 'way of convention.' The extremists of the University of Paris knew not the way to deal with Pope Benedict: it was a great mistake for them to show such want of trust and of respect for him whom they professed to hold as the only rightful Pope. They had an interview with the cardinals, and consulted them, among other things, as to what was to be done supposing Benedict were to die. This was a question complicated by the consideration that the rival cardinals did not acknowledge the college under Benedict. They also met two envoys from the Duke of Orleans, whom they naturally distrusted, but who explained that they also had endeavoured to persuade Benedict to comply with the request for a Bull. Finally it was agreed that a last attempt should be made by the moderate men of the embassy to win the Pope's compliance.

On the evening of the 17th May, Pierre d'Ailly, Jean Gerson, and the Abbé of Saint Denys had a special audience of the

[1] *Religieux*, iii. 602.

Pope and the cardinals. The Bishop of Cambrai entreated the Pope to grant the Bulls desired: by doing so, he would gain the favour of France, while his refusal might cause him to be regarded as schismatic and might endanger the success of the negotiations with his rival. In reply the Pope expressed his astonishment at the treatment which he had received from the kingdom and the clergy of France; it was contrary to the canon law for such Bulls to be demanded or given; it was sufficient that he had declared his intention clearly in public consistory; it was idle to threaten him as a schismatic for prolonging the Schism, for he had done his best to hasten its termination. Then he explained to these men whom he could trust that giving a Bull would have the reverse effect from that which was desired, for it would look as if he in his subsequent action acted under compulsion, and would thus invalidate his abdication; it would be impossible for him to treat with his rival if his hands were thus tied. He therefore adhered to his refusal.[1]

The ambassadors prepared to depart; they had their final audience. The Pope reiterated his readiness to abdicate; he would prefer the 'way of cession,' he said, to any other way of ending the Schism, but at the same time he refused to exclude other ways absolutely from consideration. The Patriarch acknowledged regret at not obtaining the Bulls which the ambassadors had looked for. The Pope answered that every good Christian ought to be satisfied; that he doubted not the King of France would be satisfied; and that whoever was not satisfied with what he had declared as to his intention, was not desirous of the unity of the Church. The ambassadors took their leave.

They went to Aix; and on the 21st they celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and had a long discussion as to whether they should publish the ordonnance of the subtraction of obedience. They decided not to do so. They then split up into three bodies. Two of their number were left in Marseilles to confirm the Pope in his good resolution and to provide against a vacancy by death. The majority went on to Pope Gregory at Rome. Three of their number were sent to Paris

[1] *Religieux*, iii. 616.

to report progress. The King and the court were perfectly well satisfied with the result of the embassy. The University of Paris was wroth because the ambassadors had not published the subtraction of obedience. Pope Benedict, cut to the quick by the distrust evinced by the embassy and knowing what was in store for him,[1] determined to be beforehand with the enemies of his own household, and prepared a Bull of excommunication, directed against all who should subtract obedience, directed in other words against all his opponents in France. It was not to be promulgated at once; it was to be held in reserve. If the obedience of France were again subtracted, if the King of France used against him the most formidable weapon in his power, he would use against the King of France the most formidable weapon in the papal armoury. Charles held in readiness his ordonnance of subtraction; the Pope held in readiness his Bull of excommunication.

Notwithstanding his early profession of earnestness to secure the peace and unity of the Church, Pope Gregory remained for the first eight months of his reign in Rome, and took no steps for meeting Pope Benedict. His sweet simplicity gave way to a senile weakness. In the earliest days of his pontificate Leonardo of Arezzo had foreseen the possibility of his tergiversation, and Gregory himself in his first encyclical had remarked that obligations were of no force against the maker of laws.[2] In May envoys came from Genoa and Savona to congratulate him, to offer him security, to promise him and his cardinals any ships they might require. But Gregory was surrounded by nephews and relations who had no desire to renounce the golden harvest which they saw before them. His nephew Antonio had in February been made papal treasurer and referendary—a bad sign for the union, said the officials of the Curia.[3] Another nephew, Gabriel Gondulmaro, had been taken into the Curia; his lay nephews, the sons of his brother Filippo, were entertained at the papal court and wasted the papal treasure in their horses, servants, and riotous living.[4] His cardinals urged him to fulfil the terms of the Treaty of Marseilles, but Gregory referred the question of his obligation

[1] Ehrle, vii. 599.
[2] Sybel, xvii. 109.
[3] *De Schismate*, 228-9.
[4] Mur. iii. 838.

to a commission of twenty-four officials of his Curia, with his vice-chancellor, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, at their head; and he was deeply chagrined when they backed up the recommendations of the cardinals and urged the Pope to fulfil his obligation and his oath.[1]

The French ambassadors, with a fair wind behind them, had reached Genoa in June, and there they made arrangements for five galleys to be sent for the use of Gregory. They had sent on Robert the Hermit to announce their coming in the Italian towns; and as they passed through Lucca and Florence they were received with pomp and hospitality. They continued their way through Siena and Viterbo, where they met two cardinals, who informed them of the machinations of King Ladislas; and they reached Rome on the 5th July.[2] They found Pope Gregory still in Rome; he had been obliged to flee for refuge from an attack of the Colonnas to the Castle of Sant Angelo. They had an interview with the Pope on the 6th, and they met the ambassadors from Pope Benedict. Gregory had fallen off from his first good intentions; there were points in the Treaty of Marseilles which he did not like; there were all sorts of difficulties in the way of the voyage to Savona; he could not trust the Genoese galleys, and the Venetians could not send him any; he was afraid of what Ladislas might do; and above all, he had not any money.

Pope Innocent the Seventh, when he died, had already lost his general Mustarda, who had been treacherously killed by Paolo Orsini;[3] but he had left two other generals, the condottiere Paolo Orsini himself, and his own nephew Ludovico de' Megliorati, who had been guilty of the dastardly massacre of the eleven Roman citizens. Gregory desired to retain them both. It was, however, one thing to take these generals into his service, and quite another to retain them in it. The late Pope's nephew had no mind to serve his uncle's successor; he feared the revenge of the Romans; and when the Pope proposed to deprive him of the government of the March of Ancona for the benefit of one of his own nephews,[4] Ludovico promptly revolted, seized on Ascoli, and deserted to King

[1] Erler, 160.
[2] *Religieux*, iii. 644.
[3] *De Schismate*, 196.
[4] *Ibid.* 231.

Ladislas of Naples. To Paolo Orsini Gregory already owed six thousand golden gulden which he had borrowed for his coronation; and by March 1407 the condottiere general's bill for the pay of his troops amounted to sixty thousand more. Paolo Orsini marched off in anger toward Corneto, seized the city of Toscanella as security for his debt, plundered, imprisoned, and slew many of the citizens. Gregory endeavoured to provide his nephews with lucrative posts, but could do nothing to protect his subjects. To appease Orsini he pawned a costly golden mitre, which had been presented to Pope Urban the Sixth; he allowed his nephew Gondulmaro to sell a number of books, belonging to the Pope and the Roman Church, to Cardinal Minultulus. The costs of the embassy to Marseilles were defrayed by one of the ambassadors, the Bishop of Todi. The papal revenues from distant lands were gathered as speedily as possible, the papal collector being ordered on the 12th March to send in money to Rome. With the States of the Church under Papal Legates who were virtually independent, Gregory was at his wits' end to find ready cash to pay his troops and to defray the extravagant expenses of his nephews.[1]

The French ambassadors recognised his need, and offered him funds sufficient to defend Rome for three months, if he would only start at once to meet Pope Benedict. But the Venetians would not send Gregory galleys for Savona, for Savona was under the rule of Boucicaut, and the Marshal was full of threatenings and vengeance against the Venetians. As he had been returning to Genoa from the Levant, the Venetian fleet, under Carlo Zeno, had fallen in with and had disastrously defeated his fleet off Zonchio on the 7th October 1403:[2] and this was an indignity which the Marshal,[3] 'a brave but bluff and headstrong soldier,' was not likely to forgive or forget. It was therefore useless for Pope Gregory to ask the Venetians to their enemy's strong harbour, and he might have expected a refusal when he made the request. Moreover, he, himself a Venetian, distrusted his hereditary enemies, the Genoese; he could not overcome this distrust, although his nephew Antonio had returned to Rome in a Genoese galley, and although the commandant of the Genoese ships was a man of his own choice,

[1] Sybel, xvii. 98-9. [2] Boucicaut, 264. [3] Hazlitt, i. 743.

who was ready to give his wife and children as hostages for his fidelity. Nothing could overcome the Pope's unreasonable scruples. Gregory averred that he dare not trust Marshal Boucicaut; he wanted him removed from Genoa. It was in vain that the Constable renewed his oath to abide by the treaty, in vain that he offered to make over to Gregory and his cardinals his own castles as additional security. Still the Pope hesitated. Ladislas ingratiated himself, pandering to the old man's delight in the table, by sending the Pope a costly dinner-service.[1] To the French ambassadors Gregory poured out a particular string of complaints: he could not trust their princes; the word of one was no guarantee for any of the others; moreover, if they threatened subtraction of obedience from a Pope whom they acknowledged, what would they not do to a Pope whom they held to be a usurper? The ambassadors offered themselves to become hostages; but the want of French confidence in Benedict was bringing forth the result which he had foretold. A hundred citizens from Genoa, fifty from Savona, were offered to Gregory as hostages for his safety: it was of no avail. Furthermore, he urged that King Ladislas of Naples was pillaging his territory and would ruin it utterly if he left Rome, though there were some who believed that Gregory himself was privy to the King's misdeeds.[2]

Through the whole month of July these wearisome audiences of the two sets of ambassadors with Pope Gregory continued, but all were fruitless. On one day Gregory proposed that he and his rival should both go by land to Savona, and that there should be no armed galleys; then he reflected that one land route for him was closed by war, and that the other was unsafe. Then he wanted a fresh treaty, seeing that his nephew should not have bound him to the impossible; but the ambassadors had no power to do otherwise than to execute the present treaty. He was suspected of collusion with Simon de Cramaud,[3] whom he afterwards accused of arrogance. He offered to go to Pietra Sancta, five miles beyond Lucca: he was told that if he meant to go, he had better start at once. The old man burst into a torrent of tears. A day or two later he had again changed his mind: he now proposed Pisa,

[1] *De Schismate*, 230. [2] *Ibid.* 236. [3] Ehrle, vii. 603.

Florence, or Siena for the interview; he would agree to any town in the dominion of Florence. On the 28th July he sent for Pierre d'Ailly, Jean Gerson, and four others, and told them that he trusted them and was going to open his heart to them. Savona, he said, was so difficult as to be impossible, but he would go to Pietra Sancta, or to any other place in his obedience still nearer to that of Benedict if there was one. The Bishop of Cambrai reminded him of the confident hopes which his early professions had raised, urged him still to trust in the King of France as he had once done, and assured him that it was vain to talk of any new treaty. Gregory answered that his confidence in the French King had been shaken by his treatment of Benedict, and he objected, as Benedict had done, to their being bound down to the 'way of cession' to the exclusion of all others. When the bishop had answered this plea, Gregory objected that there were so many royal princes in France, and that the word of one did not bind another. He then harped on the old question of the galleys; he concluded by declaring that he would go to Pietra Sancta and would treat with Benedict from there. He burst into tears as he said, 'Yes, I will give you union, do not doubt it; I will so work that I shall obtain the love of the King of France and of all his kingdom; only I beg of you not to leave me; let some of you stay with me to accompany and console me on the road.' Truly a very pitiful, weak old man! On the 31st July Gregory gave the ambassadors a reply in writing setting forth the reasons why he could not consent to Savona as the place of meeting. The ambassadors, tired out with his tergiversations, left Rome and went on their way.

The final and formal reply of Pope Gregory, which was addressed to both sets of ambassadors, was to the following effect:—He objected to Savona as the place of meeting because it was eminently unsafe (*valde suspectus*), because he could not get galleys to go there, because of the war between Facino Cane and Genoa, and because of the likelihood of plague. He suggested that Benedict should accept some place in the Roman obedience. If, however, his rival insisted on Savona as the place of meeting, then Gregory would be there by the appointed time if the King of France would provide him

with the necessary galleys, but in that case the treaty must be modified in the following particulars:—Benedict must arrive first at Savona and must disarm all his galleys; Boucicaut must be recalled to France or to some place which Gregory approved, and must not interfere by land or by sea with those at Savona; a fresh governor of Genoa must be chosen by Gregory from among the ambassadors of the King of France; a hundred citizens of Genoa and fifty of Savona must be given as hostages; and finally, Gregory stipulated that if he decided to go by land and found it impossible to reach Savona, or was unwilling to go there (*vel nollet accedere*), he would send a fully empowered proctor to Savona within the appointed time to act for him. It was quite clear that Pope Gregory did not intend to abide by the terms of the Treaty of Marseilles.[1]

On their way back the ambassadors heard that two Venetians had written to Pope Gregory warning him not to trust himself in Savona nor in the hands of Boucicaut, the Governor of Genoa, for he would certainly be made prisoner. From Genoa the ambassadors wrote a long epistle to the Pope urging him to reconsider his decision and to fulfil the treaty. Pope Benedict had heard of his rival's hesitancy, and on the 1st August wrote to him from Nice expressing his astonishment. Thence on the 7th August Benedict went to the monastery of Saint Honorat on the Isle of Lerins to escape the plague which was raging round Marseilles; and here on the 22nd his ambassadors, accompanied by a bishop from the Pope at Rome, found him. They told him all that had happened, and Gregory's ambassador delivered his master's missive. Benedict expressed his great sorrow at the change in Gregory's sentiments, expressed his belief that he would nevertheless not fail to be at Savona on the 1st November, and intimated that he himself was going to Nice to make his preparations for the voyage. He wrote to his rival, urging him to abide by the treaty, reminding him that they were aged men with no time to lose. Gregory had communicated with the King of France, setting forth his objections to Savona; and Charles had sent an autograph letter to Benedict, full of kindly protestation, advising him to go to Pisa rather than risk the loss of their common object.

[1] Martene, ii. 1368-1375.

This would have entailed the renewal of wearisome negotiations, and would have been fruitless, as the event proved. Seeing that Gregory had distinctly promised to send fully empowered proctors if he himself did not come to Savona, Benedict certainly adopted the wisest and most politic course when he resolved punctiliously to observe every article of the Treaty of Marseilles. This he determined to do, and this he did.[1] He reached Savona on the 23rd September, and remained there until the 1st November was passed, awaiting the arrival of Pope Gregory. But there was to be no meeting of the rival Popes at Savona.

Ludovico de' Megliorati, the nephew of the late Pope Innocent, and the Cardinal of Aquileia, meanwhile had plotted with Giovanni and Nicolo Colonna to betray Rome to Ludovico's new master, the King of Naples, who was eager to seize the city and the Pope in order to prevent Gregory from going to Savona. There were those who thought that the Pope himself was in the plot, for he moved off to the Castle of Sant Angelo with surprising celerity.[2] The meeting of the Popes, thought Ladislas, could only eventuate in the election of a single French Pope, devoted to the interest of France and to that of the Duke of Anjou; it would therefore be fatal to his own rule in Naples. On the night of the 17th June, while the ambassadors from Pope Benedict and from the King of France were still in the city, the Colonnas entered Rome through a breach made in the wall with four hundred horse and as many foot, trusting that the citizens would rise and support them. They were disappointed. Paolo Orsini was still close to the city, and hearing the outcry, he rose and went at once against the enemy, assailing them with stones and arrows, so that there was a great slaughter outside the Gate of Saint Lawrence. He captured the two Colonna leaders and fourteen others, whom he held to ransom, retiring with them subsequently to his own castles. Ladislas's 'knight of freedom,' Galeotto de Normannis, Orsini's own brother-in-law, Ricardo de Sanguineis, and others lost their heads for that night's venture.[3] The citizens of Rome, turbulent and fickle as they

[1] Ehrle, vii. 612.
[2] *De Schismate*, 233.
[3] Tartini, ii. 569-70; Mur. xviii. 594; xxiv. 982; *De Schismate*, 233 *et seq.*

might be, were in no mind as yet to welcome King Ladislas in their midst.

Having got rid of the obnoxious ambassadors, Gregory determined to set forth leisurely on his journey to meet his rival. He had to satisfy Paolo Orsini before he could leave Rome, and he made over to him certain church lands; others he gave to three of his lay nephews.[1] Having thus impoverished himself, he was fain to tax the clergy and to pillage the churches and monasteries ruthlessly[2] in order to provide funds for his journey. He left Rome on the 9th August, reached Viterbo on the 15th, and halted there for twenty days. Thence he moved on to Siena, which he reached on the 4th September, being received with great rejoicing and honour. He wrote to the Count of Montferrat to protect him at Savona.

At Siena ambassadors met the Pope from Kings Wenzel and Sigismund and also from Henry of England. These monarchs were alarmed at the proposal for a conference at Savona. They represented that it was a French city, it having passed, when it revolted from Genoa, to the Duke of Orleans, and having been by him transferred to the King of France. The Pope's life, said the ambassadors, would be in danger; he would be forced to resign against his will; there was no chance of any Pope being elected whom they could or would obey; the Schism would be perpetuated.[3] The French, said Sigismund, had been the original cause of the Schism, and were the cause of its continuance.[4] King Ladislas continually represented to Gregory that he had no right to resign, seeing that he alone was the true Pope, and that the kingdom of Naples would never obey any other. The Venetians and the Florentines, on the other hand, reminded him of his vow: it was his duty as a good Christian to put an end to the Schism; although the Venetians at the same time advised him not to trust himself at Savona, which belonged to their rivals the Genoese, but to meet his rival elsewhere. The Pope himself could not overcome his distrust of Genoa and its governor; he distrusted moreover that masterful Cardinal Legate, Baldassare Cossa; he was persuaded that his life would not be safe at Savona. His

[1] '*Aliqua castra, civitates, et terras ecclesiae*': *De Schismate*, 238.
[2] *De Schismate*, 239, 247. [3] Tartini, ii. 571-2. [4] Goeller, 21, note.

nephews also had immense influence over him. That rigid Dominican Giovanni had been seduced by the pay of a Florentine ambassador and by the dainty feeding at Gregory's court from his former austerity; he had become Gregory's confessor; he had given up his early ardour for the union and had learned to preach comfortable things; he also dissuaded the Pope from going to Savona. Gregory organised processions on behalf of the union; he gave the Beghards indulgences to sell; he commissioned the Mendicant Friars to set forth the fatal perils which he and his cardinals would undergo if they ventured as far as Savona.[1] He busied himself in cultivating public opinion to excuse his own feebleness and neglect of duty. He entered into wearisome negotiations with the Lord of Lucca, which astonished and irritated Paolo de Guinigi; 'the Pope asks permission to come into my lands and then seems to doubt me.' It was not until near the end of January that Pope Gregory, accompanied by a large body of Florentine men-at-arms, advanced in the thick of the frost and the snow as far as Lucca, where the fortresses were given into his hands.

On the 3rd November 1407 three ambassadors from Gregory, his nephew Francesco and two others, appeared at Savona and set forth eleven several reasons for their master's failure to appear either on the first or the second term provided by the treaty. Having regard to the great expense entailed on himself and on the King of Aragon, Benedict had at first been inclined to retrace his steps, and would certainly have been justified in so doing. Naturally he declined to enter into any second treaty, seeing that the powers of the ambassadors were insufficient and Gregory might subsequently disavow their acts. But seeing that Gregory had promised to come to Pietra Sancta, Benedict would go to meet him; he would not let the chance of a meeting fail through his own fault; even though his rival had failed to abide by the Treaty of Marseilles, he would give him the opportunity of making the grand renunciation. He therefore promised to go with his cardinals to Porto Venere, and he declared that he would hold Gregory free from his obligation to come to Savona, provided he came, as he had already himself proposed, to Pietra Sancta.[2]

[1] *De Schismate*, 249-50.

[2] Martene, ii. 1388.



Louis, Duke of Orleans.

This was publicly explained by his ambassadors in the Cathedral of Siena on the 24th November in the presence of Pope Gregory and his twelve cardinals, in the presence also of the English and French ambassadors and of a large crowd of listeners.[1] But before Benedict set sail from Savona a tremendous catastrophe befell him.

On the 23rd November 1407 Louis, Duke of Orleans, was foully assassinated by the order of Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy. The Duke of Orleans, born on the 13th March 1372, was the younger and well-loved brother of King Charles the Sixth. He was handsome, devout, learned, and witty; he could hold his own with the doctors of the University as well as with the princes in council; he was extravagant in expenditure, unscrupulous as to means, passionately fond of pleasure, luxury, and pomp, royal in his liberality to princes or to Celestins.[2] When only fifteen years of age he had married Valentine, a year his senior, the beautiful daughter of Gian Galeazzo, and although he was faithless to her, the alliance kept him true to the side of the Duke of Milan and of King Wenzel of Bohemia against their rivals Rupert, King of the Romans, and the house of Bavaria, whose influence in France was upheld by the King's beautiful wife Isabel, daughter of Stephen of Bavaria. When Charles was first attacked by madness in 1392, the Duke put forward his claim to govern France on his brother's behalf; but the influence of the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri was too powerful for the young aspirant to power. In that same year King Charles and Pope Clement had proposed to conquer and create a kingdom of Adria in Italy for the benefit of Louis of Orleans; two fresh paroxysms of the King's madness, some necessary negotiations with England, discussions as to the infeudation of the proposed kingdom, had caused two years' delay, and finally the death of Pope Clement the Seventh had rendered the project abortive. But, notwithstanding this, the Duke soon became a friend of the new Pope. He had a touch of the old crusading spirit in him and was a Chevalier de la Passion:[3] he accompanied his uncles on the embassy to Avignon in 1395; he fell under the spell of Benedict, and thenceforward became his

[1] Ehrle, vii. 627. [2] Coville, 24. [3] Jarry, 53.

staunch ally and adherent; he lost no opportunity subsequently of thwarting the plans of his uncle of Burgundy, the strongest and most masterful of the sons of the luckless King John of France, who had from 1392 been at the head of the party which demanded the Pope's abdication.[1] The Duke of Orleans did his best to oppose the proposal for the subtraction of obedience, and did not sign the ordonnance with the other royal Dukes.[2] Relations between him and his uncle became so strained that it came to the brink of a civil war. When Philip of Burgundy died in 1404, the Duke at once obtained the first place in the State; he made friends with the Queen, and between them they misgoverned France right royally. Philip of Burgundy was succeeded by his less intelligent and more impetuous son John, who only obtained fifth place in the royal council. The new duke was a short man with a big head, high cheek-bones, strongly marked features, frail of body and short of stature; he had nothing of the grand seigneur about him save ambition and tenacity of purpose. He was slow of speech; profuse and lavish if occasion required, but neither extravagant nor a gambler; clever and daring, unscrupulous, remorseless and treacherous, a profound politician of the school of Machiavelli and Cæsar Borgia; ambitious to rule the realm of France even though he had to invoke the aid of her hereditary enemies to secure his object. He was destined to introduce into the troubled politics of that time two new factors: political assassination, or the removal by murder of a rival whom the ordinary courts of law were powerless to touch; and the invocation of the aid of the democracy as a power in the State. Between two royal princes so utterly opposed in character and in aims, hostility was certain.[3] When the Duke of Burgundy's expedition in Picardy in 1405 proved abortive, he became still more inflamed against his cousin of Orleans, whose own expedition in Guienne, ruined by his delay and malversation, covered him with ridicule and disgrace. The hostility between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy grew fiercer; they armed their followers; a state of open war was once more imminent. Louis of Orleans still remained, through good report and through evil, the

[1] Bess, 22. [2] Jarry, 208. [3] Coville, 35; Barante, iii. 208.

staunch supporter of Pope Benedict; he was the one royal prince in France on whom the Pope could consistently count for support. In November 1407 the royal cousins were apparently reconciled; they took the sacrament together. Three days later Jean sans Peur had his cousin treacherously murdered, even as Justinian had murdered Vitalian a thousand years earlier. He confessed his crime, gloried in it, had it elaborately justified by Jean Petit, the Norman Doctor. The Duke of Burgundy was for some years to be the governing spirit in France; he was bitterly opposed to the Pope and in favour of the subtraction of obedience; his influence over the ecclesiastical policy of the French court was now to be supreme; the coming Council of Pisa was to be held under the Burgundian protectorate.[1] It was with a sense of weakened strength and lost power that Benedict embarked at Savona on the 23rd December. He called at Genoa, left there on the last day of the year, and on the 3rd January 1408 reached the little port of Porto Venere at the entrance to the Gulf of Spezia.

Porto Venere, thirty-five miles as the crow flies from Lucca, had been subject to Genoa, and was consequently now a French town, and within the obedience of Pope Benedict. The quaint little harbour on the Ligurian Sea, separated by the Island Palmaria from the beautiful Gulf of Spezia, with hills in the background on whose snowclad summits the sun flushes pink in the evenings of winter or early spring, was a tiny spot for so august an assemblage. A horse could scarce find a foothold there,[2] but on the other hand it was perfectly safe. Petrarch had described it as an *erix fortissima*; and it had recently been strongly fortified by the Genoese. On the Sunday of Mid-Lent, Pope Benedict said Mass with complete security in the little church of San Pietro on the rocky eminence. It had been 'built by Pisans with alternate rows of black and white marble, upon the site of an old temple of Venus—a modest and pure piece of Gothic architecture, fair in desolation, refined and dignified, and not unworthy in its grace of the dead Cyprian goddess. Through its broken lancets the sea-wind whistles and the vast reaches of Tyrrhene gulf are

[1] Bess, 11.

[2] Mur. iii. 805.

seen. Samphire sprouts between the blocks of marble, and in sheltered nooks the caper hangs her beautiful purpureal snowy bloom.'[1] Had Pope Gregory ventured into Porto Venere he might have been cut off by the French from Lerici, or by the men of Spezia who had recently fortified their own city. To guard against this the King of France offered to put into his hands the town of Sarzana, with its picturesque fortress constructed by Castruccio Castracani eighty years earlier, together with the surrounding forts; and these would have been an ample security to Gregory.

Gregory had said that he would come as far as Pietra Sancta. On the 28th January he left Siena and came across the snow-covered country to Lucca. Lucca, girt round by the Apennines, where at that season of the year

'Jupiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes,'

had eighty years earlier been the city of Castruccio Castracani. It had subsequently purchased its freedom from the Emperor Charles the Fourth; it was now under the sway of a native lord, Paolo Guinigi, who was devoted to Pope Gregory. With one Pope at Porto Venere and the other at Lucca, only a few leagues apart, it needed only the presence of an Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire to bring them together and to compel them to do that for which all Christendom was waiting. But, alas! there was no Emperor, there was no King of the Romans worthy of the name. Wenzel was a slothful drunkard, and Rupert was miserably ineffective. There was no *vis major* to compel the Popes to act. Gregory had come as far as Lucca, but it seemed as if nothing would induce him to advance the remaining fifteen miles to Pietra Sancta.

On the 1st February Benedict sent ambassadors to urge Gregory to continue his march. He professed to be still full of ardour for the union. 'Thus far have I come because I desired and still desire it; nay, I am ready at once to effect it, if you can show me sufficient authority from your lord that he is ready to do the like.' But he insisted that the place of their meeting must first be settled. Ambassadors from Venice came and preached in favour of speedy action; others from Rome, from

[1] Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece*, ii. 142.



Porto Venere.

Florence, from Perugia and Bologna urged the objection to any further delay.[1] Gregory listened to them all with deaf ears. The envoys of Benedict proposed Porto Venere or Spezia as the place of meeting, or their Pope should come to Lerici or Ameglia. Leghorn was suggested as a suitable place, being in the spiritual obedience of Gregory and in the temporal obedience of the King of France; but Gregory would not allow his cardinals even to inspect the place. He proposed a number of places in Tuscany, to which the ambassadors objected by reason of the danger from King Ladislas. It was then proposed that Gregory should go to Pisa and Benedict to Leghorn, where they would only be eleven miles apart. The French envoys tried to induce Benedict to go to Pisa or Lucca; but King Ladislas wrote saying that, if the Popes met at Pisa, he should himself be present, and the Cardinal of Poitiers advised Benedict on no account to go to Pisa or to put himself in the hands of the Florentines.[2] This proposal was replaced by another made by the envoys from France, Poland, and some Italian cities, which was very manifestly to the advantage of Gregory. This was that he should come to Carrara, then as now celebrated for its marble quarries, and that Benedict should take up his abode in the little village of Avenza, which was guarded by the castle of Castruccio Castracani with its bold round towers and pinnacles. The rivals would then have been but three miles apart: both places were in the Urbanist obedience, and within the territories of the Signor of Lucca, who was devoted to Pope Gregory. But the Roman Pope regarded this plan as a trap, and refused even to have Carrara inspected: why should they betake themselves to little insecure castles when the town of Pisa was at their service? Paolo Guinigi and the Florentines offered to be security to Benedict if he and his cardinals would go to Pisa, but before any answer had been given Gregory withdrew his offer. The project for Pisa and Leghorn was again broached; but when on this occasion Benedict seemed likely to agree, Gregory again hesitated.

It seemed impossible to come to any agreement. Neither Pope would hear of abdication by proctors. Twice before had collusion between the rival Popes been suspected; mes-

[1] *De Schismate*, 253.

[2] Ehrle, vii. 631-3.

sengers were again passing between them, and men began again to suspect that each was urging his rival to keep up the outward show of negotiation, but not to give way.[1] However this may have been, nothing availed to bring the Popes nearer each other. Each apparently profoundly distrusted the other, each thought that his rival wished to put himself in a position in which all the material power should be on his own side. Gregory refused to advance from Lucca, Benedict thought that he had already gone far enough. The situation was aptly described by Leonardo of Arezzo in a letter to Petrillo of Naples: 'You would have said that one of them was a water rat afraid of the shore, and that the other was a land rat afraid of the water.'[2] The ambassadors of different courts wearied themselves in endeavours to secure the meeting: his cardinals prayed, begged, and besought Gregory; they pestered him at all hours of the day and night, in public and in private, at his palace and at church, but without avail. Finally, a certain brother of the Carmelite Order, after Mass, lectured Gregory publicly in church on his bad faith, his broken vow, his perjury. This was more than the aged Pontiff could stand: his nephews haled the indiscreet preacher from the church in which at the time of vespers he and certain orators and ambassadors had assembled; the zealous Carmelite was imprisoned and sentenced to bread and water; but for his good friends he might never have seen the light of heaven again.[3] The Pope ordered that no sermons should be preached which had not passed the censure; and several bishops who should have officiated with him during Easter, in disgust at his perjury, withdrew themselves from Lucca. The ambassadors of France and Venice, and the cardinals themselves, seeing how impossible it was to effect a meeting of the rival pontiffs, proposed that they should abdicate simultaneously at a distance by means of proctors, but each Pope scouted this proposal. The fact was that at this time each had his attention anxiously fixed on Rome and on what was happening there.

Paolo Orsini was meditating fresh treachery. His scheme was to checkmate Ladislas of Naples by delivering Rome to

[1] Martene, ii. 1342; Valois, iii. 536. [2] Mur. xix. 927.
[3] *De Schismate*, 258.

the Constable Boucicaut, thus playing the traitor to his own patron, Gregory the Twelfth, and delivering Rome virtually into the hands of Benedict the Thirteenth. The Constable and Jacques de Prades, Constable of Aragon and one of the ambassadors from that kingdom, assembled their ships at Porto Venere; Benedict himself put four galleys at their disposal, and impressed priests and monks as oarsmen; but the weather was against them and the fleet never started.[1] Meantime the King of Naples was not idle. He had got the Florentines to agree that they would not help the Pope nor Paolo Orsini, who held Rome for Gregory. On this Ladislas concentrated his troops on Rome, stationed four galleys which prevented victuals being imported into the city, and won over Paolo Orsini, promising to make him Lord of Rome. In April Ladislas took Ostia; on the 22nd he was under the walls of Rome. There was a slight fight between his soldiers and those of Paolo Orsini, in which the advantage lay with the Romans; but on that night the faithless condottiere general completed his treachery, joined the Colonna and the Savelli in the enemy's camp, and next day introduced some of the King's troops into Rome. The Romans, seeing that they were betrayed, howled anathemas at the traitor, but sent ambassadors to make terms, and surrendered their city. The winter had been very hard for the citizens; thunder and lightning, snow and hail and mighty winds had terrified them; famine had become so severe that a man gladly bought for double its ordinary price bread that he usually thought fit only for a dog, and was only allowed to buy a single loaf at that. Under these evil auspices, on the 25th April the King of Naples made a triumphal entry into the Eternal City under a canopy borne aloft by Roman nobles. He refused to alight at the Pope's palace, deeming himself safer at the house of the Papal Chamberlain: there was plentiful feasting; the King put up lists and two pavilions in the Square of Saint Peter and held a tourney there. Ladislas appointed nine new Conservators of his own, quashing the appointments which had previously been made by the Cardinal of Saint Angelo. He tarried for two months among his new subjects, arranged for the govern-

[1] Boucicaut, 380-85.

ment of their city, received ambassadors from Florence and Lucca; the cities of Perugia, Orta, Terni, Todi, and Rieti at once submitted to him. Then, well satisfied with his success, he left Rome on the 23rd June to return to Naples.[1]

Rightly or wrongly, every one believed that the King of Naples had been acting in collusion with Pope Gregory. The news reached Lucca, Ladislas had entered Rome; Gregory must return there. The Pope was evidently well pleased at the victory of his 'best-beloved son Ladislas'; his nephews, Antonio and Paolo, burst into transports of joy; others of his household illuminated their dwellings and held glad dances therein. Gregory was relieved; no one could expect him under existing circumstances to continue the negotiations; he determined to break them off. He accused Pope Benedict and Marshal Boucicaut of collecting ships to make an attempt on Rome, which the foul weather had alone averted;[2] he dismissed his rival's ambassadors on the 11th May, breaking off all negotiations for the cession; he forbade his own court ever to mention the union of the Church to him again; he resolved, in violation of his coronation oath, to fulfil the intention which he had first formed at Viterbo, and to create a fresh batch of cardinals. Gregory, like Benedict, had to contend against his own sacred college; each body was more anxious that its head should abdicate than its head was apparently ready to resign. When Baldassare Cossa, in name the Papal Legate but now in reality the sovereign Lord of Bologna, sent to Gregory offering him faithful obedience if the Pope would but keep his word,[3] his embassy was scorned, and Cossa thenceforth played his own game, taking the lead in the party which promoted the Council of Pisa. If neither Pope nor Emperor would call an œcumenical council, the Papal Legate was ready to advocate a council to be called by the cardinals on their own authority.

The capture of Rome by King Ladislas completely altered the aspect of affairs in Italy. He was now the commanding figure in the peninsula, and he aspired to be Emperor. Gregory wrote to him to ask for a suitable escort, and the King would have complied, but the Florentines objected, and themselves

[1] Mur. xxiv. 990-3.
[2] Hefele, vi. 904.
[3] Hardt, ii. 351.

provided the necessary men for the Pope when he was ready to leave Lucca. The departure of Ladislas for Naples relieved the immediate fears of the men of Florence; but the King announced that, if the rival Popes met, he meant to be present, seeing that he had his own interests to safeguard no less than those of the Church, of which he was Protector. This would have deprived the Popes of all independence of action; so that this announcement rendered the conference and the simultaneous abdication an impossibility.

Full of his plan for the creation of a new batch of cardinals, Gregory summoned the college to his palace on the 4th May. They came, and found the place full of armed men, so that they feared for their lives. The Pope scowled at them, bidding them be seated and not move without his permission. As soon as he began the office for the creation of new members, they rose in a body and protested against such a violation of his coronation oath. They tried to leave the building, but found the doors guarded. The weak old man then gave way; but before he let them go he forbade them to leave Lucca, or to hold any meeting without his permission, or to communicate with the French ambassadors or with those of his rival. He knew that his cardinals disapproved of his tergiversations; he relied on the support of his nephews and of his confessor, the recreant Dominican. On the 9th May he called the cardinals together again, but the majority of them alleged illness and declined to appear. In their absence, however, the Pope created four new cardinals. Among these were his nephew Antonio, who had arranged the Treaty of Marseilles; the Dominican Friar Giovanni, who of late had consistently supported the ambassadors of King Ladislas; and also the future Pope Eugenius the Fourth, the nephew, or as some said the son, of Gregory himself. The fourth was the protonotary Jacopo of Friuli, who aforetime had been a doctor of medicine.[1] The Pope had now definitely broken with his entourage; they could not trust him, though the Lord of Lucca promised to protect the cardinals. They knew that it was useless to expect Gregory to do anything toward ending the Schism. The cardinals saw that, unless the Schism were ended, a subtraction of obedience

[1] Ciaconius, ii. 766.

was imminent and that their own revenues and livelihood were endangered. They therefore lent a willing ear to the suggestion that they should leave Lucca for a safer place where they could act independently of the Pope.

Three of the cardinals were too weak and ill to travel. The others went to Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, entered a solemn protest against their master's acts, and obtained permission to depart. On the morning of the 11th May, the Cardinal of Liège, dressed as a simple priest, left the city on horseback. Paolo Corrario, the Pope's nephew, sent horsemen after him, who were on the point of overtaking him, when the Cardinal gained the Castle of Ripafratta in the Pisan territory, and his pursuers were driven back by the guard. Paolo Guinigi, who had no desire to fall out with the Florentines, now interfered, took the Pope's horsemen prisoners, and instilled a wholesome fear into Gregory and his nephew,[1] warning them that his safe-conduct to them did not cover acts of violence on their part. On the evening of that same day seven more cardinals, and a few days later a ninth, escaped from Lucca to Pisa;[2] they wrote thence to Pope Benedict, inviting him to come to Leghorn.

Now that he knew himself to be deserted by the court of France, Benedict took the opportunity of showing his gratitude to one who had hitherto always been faithful to him, one who was '*ferventissimus in factis ecclesiae et bono unionis.*' The Marshal Jean le Meingre dit Boucicaut, Governor of Genoa, had in 1405 been suspected of contemplating a *coup de main* in favour of Benedict and of delivering Rome to him by force.[3] The Pope had, in April 1407, sent him a mule with costly bridling;[4] in December 1407 he freed Jean's brother Geoffroi from all pains and penalties which he had incurred during the siege of Avignon; in February 1408 he, again at Jean's request, exhibited a like favour to his father-in-law, Raimond de Turenne; and about the same time he mortgaged to the Marshal himself four castles in the Comtat Venaissin.[5] It was expenditure well incurred. Once again were the names of the Pope and the Governor to be associated in connection with an

[1] Brieger, xxviii. 195. [2] Mur. iii. 837-40. [3] Ehrle, v. 480.
[4] Ehrle, vi. 143. [5] *Ibid.* v. 481; vi. 141.

alleged *coup de main* on Rome; and the Governor was to allow the Pope to escape him when he might apparently have captured and held him for his lord, the King of France.

The difference in the French policy, now that there was no one at court to counterbalance the antagonism of the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri, soon made itself disagreeably apparent to the Spanish Pope. On the 12th January 1408, soon after he arrived at Porto Venere in the hope of meeting his rival, the King of France indited a letter announcing a policy of neutrality between the rival Popes unless on or before the next Feast of Ascension there was 'union in our Holy Mother Church and one only true and acknowledged Pope and Pastor of the Church Universal.'[1] The publication of the two ordonnances of the subtraction of obedience was postponed to the same date. It was not until Easter that the Pope received this letter, so that he had barely six weeks in which to accomplish the great work. He answered the King's letter forthwith, on the 18th April. He told the King that it was no fault of his that the Church was not already united; he upbraided him with listening to perfidious counsels, with cutting off the apostolic taxes so that, as Jean Petit put it, no water came to the mill;[2] finally, he warned King Charles that, in addition to other pains and penalties, he might incur those enumerated in a certain instrument which had hitherto remained secret, but of which he sent him now a copy. Pope Benedict enclosed for the King's perusal a copy of the Bull of excommunication which he had held in reserve since the 19th May 1407. He knew that he was without a friend at the French court, and must have foreseen the consequence. The letter was brought by one Sancho Lopez, who gave it to the King in his oratory on the morning of the 14th May, and then mysteriously disappeared. The missive was opened after Mass in presence of the royal dukes. The King's anger flamed up at the insult. Immediate action was taken.

The French court, which prided itself on taking no step in church matters save in conjunction with the clergy and in accordance with their wishes, immediately convened a fifth council at Paris to consider the Bull promulgated by Benedict,

[1] Chastenet, *Preuves*, 260. [2] *Ibid.* 111.

and to give an *ex post facto* sanction to the subtraction of obedience from him. The council was not well attended; not more than five archbishops and thirty bishops were present. Pierre d'Ailly excused himself on the score of his gout and went into hiding; the Universities of Toulouse and Montpellier were not represented. But to make up for its lack of numbers, its unanimity was wonderful. The assemblage was held in the palace yard. The King, the royal princes, the nobility, the Parlement, the University of Paris, and the public were present. Jean Courtecuisse, who belonged to the Navarre College and was a professor of theology, was the orator. He dilated on all that the King had done to restore unity to the Church; he described the Bull as an attack on the royal authority and majesty and on the honour of the kingdom; he anathematised Pope Benedict as a persistent schismatic and heretic, a disturber of the peace, a persecutor of the Church. Even the moderate and conciliatory Jean Gerson, who had protested against the subtraction of obedience, was aroused to wrath against the Pope whom he had hitherto trusted, but whom he would never trust again; he described Benedict's procedure as a step full of detestable rashness and falsehood. The Pope's cause was henceforth hopeless and without defenders in France. The subtraction of obedience was approved by all. Pedro de Luna was never henceforth to be styled Pope or cardinal or even Benedict; he was held to be an obstinate heretic and schismatic whom no one was to obey; all his acts subsequent to the 19th May 1407, the date of his Bull, were declared to be null and void. The Bull itself was held up in the sight of all; the parchment was unfolded by the royal secretaries; it was stabbed with penknives; it was torn into two parts—one was handed to the princes and counsellors, the other to the University and the clergy, and both were rent into little pieces. France had done with Pope Benedict and his Bulls. Nicolas de Clamanges, being suspected of complicity with the Pope, was forced to defend himself. Pierre d'Ailly, being summoned to appear, could not be found; two others, who did appear, were forthwith imprisoned. An order was sent to Marshal Boucicaut to arrest Pedro de Luna. Sancho Lopez and his unfortunate courier were discovered; they were

on two occasions brought in dung-carts to trial, and were exposed to the jeers and insults of the populace:[1] they were sentenced, one to imprisonment for life, the other to three years' detention. Nor did the royal action stop here. While the council was still sitting, Simon de Cramaud and Pierre Plaoul arrived from Italy with the story of what had happened there. On the 22nd May, King Charles wrote to the cardinals of the Roman Pope entreating them to abandon their master, who, with Pedro de Luna, could not find in the whole world a single spot in which the two rivals might fulfil their oaths and vows and give peace to the mourning and desolate Church.[2] France had definitely given up all hope of the simultaneous abdication of the Popes.

The invitation sent by the cardinals of Gregory to Pope Benedict to join them at Leghorn was one which the determined little Spaniard would have been only too glad to accept. Could he have appeared as Pope of the united body of cardinals, could he have induced the cardinals of both obediences to recognise him as their head, he would be in a fair way to ultimate success. On the 20th May he despatched three of his servants to prepare for his arrival at Leghorn; he wrote to the Lord of Lucca to ask for a safe-conduct; he sent to the Florentines to ensure the arrangements for commissariat. To the cardinals who had invited him he sent four of his own cardinals and four other envoys in whom he had implicit confidence. The four cardinals were the old Cardinal of Poitiers, the only living member who had been raised to the sacred college before the Great Schism; De Thury, who had been made cardinal by Clement in 1385, and who had been fierce in opposition to Benedict during the subtraction of obedience; and Pierre Blau and Antoine de Chalant, to whom he had himself given their scarlet hats. They were to take counsel with the cardinals of Gregory as to the means of bringing him back to Pisa; and if this was impossible, they were to consult briefly concerning the union of the Church and to report quickly to Benedict and the rest of his cardinals.[3] Benedict's cardinals, however, cast their instructions to the wind, and acted in utter disregard of them.

Unfortunately for him, Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, refused

[1] Monstrelet, 97. [2] Chastenet, *Preuves*, 293. [3] Ehrle, vii. 646.

the Spanish Pope the safe-conduct which he had requested; and the Florentines being fearful declined to act without the consent of King Ladislas. The Pope was therefore obliged to give up his intended visit to Leghorn. This was but the beginning of misfortune. Four of Gregory's cardinals came from Pisa to Leghorn to meet those of Benedict, and a conference was held. A proposal was made that a general council of the cardinals should be held without regard to either Pope. To this Benedict's cardinals answered that they could not take part in any such council without him, but that he would probably welcome the proposal. On second thoughts, however, Pierre Blau took up the project, and all agreed to it. They sent to Benedict a messenger, who reported the proposal to hold a council of both obediences, but who omitted to say that the council would proceed against him, as well as against Gregory, if he refused to abdicate.[1] Benedict, not understanding the real nature of the proposal, sent messages of satisfaction and encouragement to his cardinals.

Simon de Cramaud, the headstrong Patriarch of Alexandria, the man who himself aspired to the tiara, had meantime arrived with other envoys from Paris, bringing news of the renewed subtraction of obedience and of the intended arrest of Pope Benedict. The envoys and the Cardinal de Chalant left Leghorn hurriedly, brought back two galleys to the Pope, gave him their news, and counselled him to put himself in safety. For two or three days longer Benedict still lingered at Porto Venere; he stationed watchmen to be on the lookout for the approach of any enemy by land or by sea. He proposed to leave five plenipotentiaries under the safeguard of the Constable Boucicaut; but Boucicaut replied that if they remained it must be at their own risk and peril. De Chalant had not enlightened the Pope as to the intended scope of the proposed council; so that when Benedict sent fresh messages of congratulation to his three cardinals at Leghorn, suggesting that he would like to explain matters to them, he was still in the dark as to the real nature of their proposed scheme. In their answers the cardinals, who were all Frenchmen, blamed the Pope's conduct toward France, which had brought about

[1] Valois, iv. 6.

a renewed rupture with that country, and had again endangered their revenues; they declined to rejoin him for fear of breaking off the negotiations. There was nothing for the determined little man to do but to avoid arrest of his person by leaving Italy. It was rumoured that not only Boucicaut, but also the cardinals at Pisa, intended to arrest him, and that King Ladislas of Naples, in league with Pope Gregory, was also on his heels.[1]

Accordingly on the 13th June, Pope Benedict wrote to his rival, to the cardinals, and to others; he reproached Gregory in set terms as the cause of the failure to secure the union of the Church; he blamed the conduct of the French envoys; he asserted anew his own unalterable fidelity to the high aim he had set before him. On the 15th June 1408 he published an encyclical, announcing to the world at large, and more particularly to the princes and clergy of his own obedience, that he convoked a General Council to assemble at Perpignan on All Saints' Day 1408. He had now tarried until further waiting was perilous to his personal safety. Next morning, with but four cardinals in his train, he set sail from Porto Venere. He had made a strenuous endeavour to bring about the 'way of convention,' and it had failed, more through the fault of his rival than his own. He touched at Gallinaria, he tarried four days at Villa Franca, he arrived at the coast of Rousillon on the 1st July.

Three other cardinals of the Clementine obedience had meantime joined their fellows at Leghorn. As they had not yet definitely broken with their Pope they sent off news to Benedict on the 14th June of their proposed General Council, and intimated that they could not support his project for a council in so remote a spot as Perpignan. On the 29th the cardinals took a fresh and decisive step in advance. Six cardinals of Benedict's obedience, and seven of Gregory's, threw off their allegiance to their respective Popes, and decided to call synods of their own obediences. In this momentous step they were backed up by Cardinals Filargi of Milan and Baldassare Cossa, whose proctor signed with the cardinals. The Cardinal Legate of Bologna had now almost got the

[1] Lenfant, i. 207.

members of both colleges to adopt the course which he approved. The cardinals set forth that through the remissness of both pretenders to the Papacy the task of caring for the peace of the Church had fallen on them; that they therefore proposed, with the aid of the ruling powers, to call two synods at two contiguous places for next Candlemas; that each college desired its own Pope to appear and to abdicate at the synod, failing which he would be deposed, and that after such abdication or deposition they would proceed to choose a new sole Head of the Church.[1] On the 1st July, the day before Gregory promulgated his Bull announcing his council, the cardinals solemnly withdrew their obedience from him; and on the 3rd Gregory, finding it was useless to try to win them back, published a declaration depriving them of their posts and emoluments.

Pope Gregory meantime had decided to leave Lucca. The new insults and defamatory pamphlets directed against him and his new cardinals in this city had become intolerable.[2] On the 2nd he followed the example set by his rival, and announced that he too intended to call a General Council of his obedience; he was unable then to fix the place, but it was to be somewhere in the north of Italy, for the convenience of the German prelates. On the 14th July Gregory, 'very thin in the face and livid of complexion as if he were at the point of death,' moved out of Lucca with his Florentine escort. 'Of the three wavering cardinals, who had up till now supported him, only one continued with him still. A silver cross was borne before him, and the Holy Sacrament was carried as usual on a mule. But at the first halt at Monte Carlo, in the woods outside Lucca, the attendants drank too much of the good wine of the place. They shouted, "Oh be joyful in the Lord!" the subdeacon lost the silver cross and carried the empty stick, while the mule got driven into a ditch, where it lay for two hours half-dead. Next night they saw a comet; the Pope and all the party passed a sleepless night; and when they reached Siena they had to beg permission to enter the town as suppliants, with empty purses and hungry stomachs.'[3]

[1] Hefele, vi. 913. [2] *De Schismate*, 290.

[3] Wylie, iii. 347; but see also Erler, 179.

Notwithstanding the double convocation of councils by the rival Popes, the cardinals at Leghorn held on their own way. On the 23rd August the Florentines passed a formal act enabling the cardinals to hold their proposed council at Pisa. The 'way of convention' had failed no less irretrievably than had the 'way of cession' before it. But in its failure it had enabled the cardinals of both obediences to meet and to fraternise; they no longer distrusted each other as of yore; they had learned that it was possible for them to coalesce; they had resolved to make common cause against the rival Popes. If the pontiffs, by reason of their cowardly mutual distrust or because of their common love of place and power, refused to give peace to Christendom and to end the accursed Schism, it was the duty of the cardinals, as next in spiritual authority, to make good the laches of their superiors. The idea of a general council for ending this particular Schism was as old as the Schism itself; but opinions as to its practicability and advisability had materially changed since the days when a general council was first proposed by the Universities of Paris, Oxford, and Prague,[1] since the days when the angry Duke of Anjou had thrown Jean Rousse, when he suggested a council, into the blackest cachot of the Châtelet. The general opinion at that time, notwithstanding the writings of Henry of Langenstein, was that the 'way of council' was inordinately dilatory and wellnigh impracticable. But the utter failure of the 'way of cession' and the 'way of convention,' coupled with the persistent teaching of Jean Gerson, had brought a large number of both clergy and laymen to look upon the 'way of a council' as the only practical means of healing the Great Schism. The ancient prestige of the supreme pontiff had declined; it had declined the more rapidly now that there were two heads of the Church, each anathematising the other; the welfare of the Church Universal was now held to be of paramount importance: the Church could exist without a Pope, seeing that the Head of the Church was Christ, and that the Pope was merely His earthly representative.

The chief objection to the proposed council at Pisa was that the convocation of an œcumenical council should be

[1] Palacky, iii. 9.

either by the Pope or the Emperor, while here the Popes had both convoked councils of their own, and the Emperor neglected to act. There was indeed no *de jure* Emperor. The convocation on the authority of the cardinals was utterly uncanonical; a council without a Pope at its head had once been dreamed of by Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, but the death of Pope John the Twenty-second had foiled his plans. The present project was an attempt boldly to cut the Gordian knot, and was approved by the Universities of Paris and Bologna.[1] It was a project eminently likely to commend itself to a hard-headed man of action, such as was Baldassare Cossa, the Papal Legate at Bologna.

When Gregory declined his offer of assistance, Cossa fell off from him; he was convinced that the Pope was not in earnest in his pretended desire to abdicate, but that he was 'feeding the people with words.' He disapproved also of the appointment of the Pope's nephew as Bishop of Bologna, so that Antonio Corrario never took possession of his see. The Papal Legate was at open enmity with Pope Gregory when Cardinal Pietro Filargi came to Bologna in 1408. News of the assassination of the Duke of Orleans and of the subtraction of obedience from Pope Benedict had been received with delight, for it opened up a new vista in papal politics. If Benedict was without support in France, and Gregory was without support in Italy, they must both fall; the cardinals of both obediences might then unite and end the Schism by choosing a new Pope. Baldassare Cossa saw that there was no hope of the rival Popes fulfilling their renunciation, and already, before the cardinals abandoned Gregory, he was in treaty with Florence. Whether he communicated with the Roman cardinals prior to their meeting the four French cardinals at Leghorn does not appear; the ideas of all the cardinals at that time were merely inchoate; neither body had resolved to cast off their allegiance to their Pope. There is, at any rate, little room for doubt that Baldassare Cossa, Cardinal Legate of Bologna, was the author, the originator, and the guide of the Council of Pisa as it eventually appeared.[2] From the time at which he took part in their

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1170. [2] Hardt, ii. 351-4; Ciaconius, ii. 785; Hoefler, 442.

deliberations, he became the guiding spirit. Having resolved that there should be a council, he strained every nerve on its behalf.

On the 6th June 1408 Baldassare Cossa made a league with Florence for mutual defence against King Ladislas; on the 26th he pulled down all the arms of Pope Gregory in Bologna as a sign of neutrality and open revolt; on the 28th he got together one hundred and fifty lances to aid the Florentines; on the 8th August he went to Pisa accompanied by the Cardinals of Ravenna and Milan, where he met two cardinals, one from Benedict's obedience and one from that of Gregory. They had a long consultation with the Florentines, and the Legate prevailed on his allies to allow Pisa to become the scene of the proposed council. It was not until this date, the 23rd August 1408, that the cardinals were able to send out their invitations to the council. These were ante-dated, so that they appeared to have been issued before those of Popes Benedict and Gregory: possibly they had been prepared beforehand and were merely awaiting the decision of the Florentines pending despatch. This action of the Cardinal Legate was gall and wormwood to his enemies, Pope Gregory and King Ladislas; but the cardinals showed their confidence in him by creating Baldassare Cossa Vicar of the Church and Prior of the Cardinals.[1] The 'way of convention' having failed, the 'way of a council' was now to be tried.

The Cardinals of Palestrina and Milan were sent to Siena to invite Pope Gregory: they were obliged to post the invitation in the piazza of the town.[2] On the 24th September the cardinals despatched their invitation to Pope Benedict. They reminded him that he had agreed to the plan of a council; they had decided that he and Gregory should hold a council of both obediences at Pisa on Lady Day next, and that the cardinals should issue invitations; they hoped that he would help and take part, seeing that both Popes would be treated with the utmost honour, the object being that both should appear and abdicate, and that so the Church should again have but one common head. Should the Popes not appear, the council would be guided by the Holy Ghost in procuring an

[1] Tartini, ii. 586; Mur. xviii. 595.

[2] Hefele, vi. 917.

end to the Schism. In his reply, dated 7th November, Benedict censured their proceedings, and summoned them to attend his Council of Perpignan.

As soon as the decision of the united colleges became known, there arose a storm of discussion as to the canonicity of the proposed council. Through it all the cardinals held to their proposal to hold an œcumenical council at Pisa on Lady Day 1409.

# CHAPTER VIII

## TWO MINOR COUNCILS

When the cardinals of both obediences took upon themselves the responsibility of convoking a general council, the Great Schism entered on a new phase. The 'way of fact' had been tried and had failed; the 'way of cession' had been tried and had failed; the 'way of convention' had been tried and had failed; now a trial was to be made of the 'way of a council.' Both Popes had promised to abdicate under certain conditions, but each had at the back of his mind the notion that he personally would not be called on to make this sacrifice. This was the motive which led Pope Benedict to pursue so eagerly the way of convention: the more he was pressed to resign, the more determined he became not to resign until he had met his rival face to face. This was the motive which led Pope Gregory to refuse to bind himself to the way of cession if he found some other way equally efficacious for ending the Schism. The 'way of cession' was the one way of which the outside world thought, and when the rival Popes hesitated to adopt it, they judged them, and they judged them harshly. In the case of neither Pope, however, does such a harsh judgment seem altogether to be justified. If on the day after his coronation Pope Gregory could have met his rival, he would undoubtedly have been ready to abdicate; but *Tempus edax rerum*, Time which weakens resolutions, allowed his nephews to get the upper hand of the weak old man, and made him irresolute and worse. Pope Benedict again was a pious and firm man; had his lot been cast in untroubled times, he would probably have been a Pope after the order of Gregory the Seventh or Innocent the Third; but when he was determined on saving the Church by the one way in which no one else

acquiesced, his firmness degenerated into obstinacy, and he was accused, not without some show of reason, of self-seeking and perversity. No wonder, then, that the King of France called out on the two old men who could not find a single spot in the whole earth on which to meet and perform their manifest duty! The cardinals judged their respective Popes with equal severity. Ever since the royal embassy to Avignon the majority of Benedict's cardinals had been hostile to him; ever since the days of their terror at Lucca the majority of Gregory's cardinals had hated and distrusted him. When the Popes wrote to them, they, being cardinals, sent a courteous reply; but in reality a proposition from either Pope was to them, in the words of Milton, a 'mere tankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for stews.'

The resolution of the cardinals to call an œcumenical council was received with general, but not with universal, satisfaction. It fortunately received a certain measure of that support from the canon lawyers and the theologians which it so much needed. Cardinal Baldassare Cossa bestirred himself to this end. From the 20th December 1408 to the 1st January 1409, three Faculties of the University of Bologna, the canonical, the juridical, and the theological faculties, published certain 'conclusions' amply justifying the action of the cardinals.[1] A Schism, said the learned doctors, through its long continuance, degenerates into heresy; if the Pope neglects to put an end thereto, the faithful may withdraw their obedience; and if the cardinals in their turn neglect their duty, the faithful may call a council; and if the Pope unlawfully fails to appear, he is to be held as a schismatic and a heretic (*tanquam nutritori schismatis et haeresis et incorrigibili*). This 'conclusion' of the University served as the legal basis for subsequent proceedings of the council. The theory of the independent action of the cardinals had indeed been ventilated since 1407.[2]

Nowhere was the plan of the council received with such rejoicing as in France. Both court and University were delighted. From the day when the news was first brought to the council engaged in tearing up the Bull of Pope Benedict, communications passed freely between Paris and the cardinals; it

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 219-22. [2] Goeller, 29.

became certain that the council would be held under French, under Burgundian, influence.[1] On the 12th January 1409 Charles the Sixth announced his intention of inducing all the Kings of Christendom to declare their neutrality between the rival Popes. Even those who would ordinarily have been opposed to a council recognised the hopelessness of their position, and thought only of opening out some way of retreat for the Popes whose perverse neglect they deplored.[2]

On New Year's Day 1409, Pierre d'Ailly preached at Aix a sermon which reminds us of those of his youth. The Head of the Church was Christ, and the Church was the mystical body of Christ. To the Church had originally belonged the right of assembling a council; where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, not in the name of Peter, there is Christ in the midst of them. The council at Jerusalem was presided over not by Peter, but by its bishop James. Afterwards the right of convocation was limited to the Pope, for his honour and the confounding of heresy. But the right of the Church was never abrogated, and still exists; it is to be exercised not necessarily by the cardinals, but by believers who by reason of their authoritative power or urgent exhortation have acquired the right to represent those who work for the unity of the Church. This was a doctrine more suited to the times of the Reformation than to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The power was to be exercised whenever there was a vacancy, whenever the Pope was mad or a heretic, whenever he persistently neglected to convoke a council, or whenever, as in the present instance, there were two or more pretenders to the papacy. D'Ailly spoke not a word of censure to Benedict; he avoided the mention of his name; he did not condemn either Pope. He even went so far as to send his views to the brothers Ferrier, the staunchest adherents of Pope Benedict, whose judgment he craved; he sent them also to five French cardinals supposed to be friendly to the same Pope.[3] He explained in a sermon at Tarascon on the 10th January that, if the coming council was rightly convened, then both Popes were bound to recognise it and were bound to appear, either personally or by fully empowered proctors. He was not one

[1] Goeller, 31. [2] Tschackert, 147. [3] *Ibid.* 148-51.

of those who wished the council to proceed at once against both Popes; he rather desired that they should be induced to resign. In case both proved obstinate, the council should proceed to a new election only if it was satisfied that it carried both obediences with it; otherwise it would but create a further division, and the last state of the Schism would be worse than the first.

These political sermons were at that time one of the chief means of influencing and of educating public opinion. D'Ailly was followed on the 29th January by Jean Gerson's tractate on the Unity of the Church. Gerson combated the positions that Popes alone could summon a council, and that all who had renounced their obedience were thereby excluded from it.[1] His arguments were based on Scripture and common sense; and he and D'Ailly enjoyed once again the pleasure of demonstrating the superiority of theology over canon law. Their arguments showed that they had broken with Benedict, and that they, the most moderate and perspicuous of Parisian doctors, were among the champions of the cause of the council. The important point was that the theologians of Paris were at one with the canon lawyers of Bologna—or, as some might erroneously have said, that Jean sans Peur was at one with Baldassare Cossa—on the point that the cardinals could legally convoke an œcumenical council without the authority or intervention of the Pope.

The endeavours of the King of France meantime to obtain neutrality through Europe had met with wide but not with complete success. In Spain, for example, while the Castilians subtracted their obedience, the Aragonese stood by their countryman; in Italy, whatever Venice and Florence might do, Naples and Rimini remained loyal to Pope Gregory. Three monarchs, above all others, regarded the advent of the proposed Great Council of Pisa with marked distrust and discontent: they were Rupert, King of the Romans; Ladislas, King of Naples; and Sigismund, King of Hungary.

When the rival Popes had approached within fifty miles of each other, had an Emperor with the decision of character even of Henry the Seventh or Charles the Fourth appeared on

[1] Schwab, 224.

the scene, his influence would have sufficed to ensure a conference of the Popes and a settlement of the Schism. But Rupert had again missed his opportunity; his narrow, logical mind, regarding Gregory as the one true and only Pope, declined to countenance any dealings with Benedict; he was unable to see that thirty years of calamity had altered the situation; he took still the same view of the Schism which had been correct and appropriate at its commencement, but he was insensible and impervious to the arguments of Henry of Langenstein, of Conrad of Gelnhausen, of Pierre d'Ailly and of Jean Gerson. Dietrich of Niem had from Lucca addressed a letter to Rupert reproaching him with his inaction;[1] it was as difficult to drag King Rupert away from Heidelberg and the new University as it was to drag King Wenzel away from Bohemia. Nor would the three Archbishops of the Rhine leave their country for the sake of the Schism; though they had each double the revenue of the King, and though, had it been a question of filling one of their own sees, they would have betaken themselves to Rome as readily as the three Kings betook themselves to the feet of the Child Jesus.[2] Dietrich warned him that Ladislas was already a candidate for the Empire, but Rupert was detained, powerless and ineffective, in his own country. Ever since he had been forced in his own despite to confirm the proceedings of the Diet at Marbach, the King had been losing ground. The princely Bishop of Liège got himself enfeoffed by Wenzel; the imperial cities of Rothenburg, Regensburg, Aix, and Toul acknowledged him as still King of the Romans; the Dukes of Austria, even Rupert's old ally Leopold, declared for Wenzel.[3] Rupert knew that the party of neutrality, fostered by Cardinal Baldassare Cossa and led by the Archbishop John of Nassau, was making headway through Germany: he tried to stem the swelling current. He summoned the Electors in vain to Bacharach in 1408; he summoned the clergy and laity to Nuernberg on the 21st of October, but no decision in the interest of the Church was taken. Then he called a great Diet at Frankfurt for Epiphany 1409 to decide finally on the relation of Germany to the Schism. The political no less

[1] Hoefler, 411. [2] *Ibid.* 411. [3] Aschbach, i. 269-70.

than the ecclesiastical situation was in question. If Rupert persisted in his fidelity to Pope Gregory and lost his own followers thereby, his kingship became most precarious; if, to strengthen his hold on the kingdom, he gave up the Pope, he belied his former life and abandoned the Pope who had recognised him as the rightful King of the Romans. It was a duel between the King and the Archbishop; John of Nassau remembered how a hundred years earlier an Archbishop of Mainz had raised Adolf to the throne and had then again deposed him: he was resolved to follow the example of his predecessor.

The Diet at Frankfurt was attended by ambassadors from the courts of England and France, by King Rupert and the Electors of Mainz and Cologne, by the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgraf of Hesse, the Markgraf of Meissen, the Burggraf of Nuernberg, and by a large number of bishops, abbots, and counts. All Europe was alive to its importance. From Pisa came the Cardinal of Bari; from Pope Gregory came his nephew, the new Cardinal Antonio. Robert of Franzola rose first in the Diet; he formulated the views of the Archbishop of Mainz, and justified the action of the cardinals at Pisa. Then Cardinal Antonio rising announced that his uncle had convoked a council for Whitsuntide at Udine, that Gregory was anxious that the King of the Romans, as Protector of the Church, should take the matter in hand. King Rupert himself addressed the Diet. He pointed out that the action of the cardinals at Pisa would merely increase the existing confusion, that it would create a triple instead of a double Schism, and that the safest and most honourable course both for the Church and the Empire would be to accept the proposal of Pope Gregory. To his mortification he found that he was unable to influence the Diet; the majority declared for neutrality between the rival Popes. The Diet broke up. King Rupert and Cardinal Antonio departed for Heidelberg. The King was determined to recognise no other Pope than Gregory unless and until he were canonically deposed.

When the ambassador of Pope Gregory departed with King Rupert, the Cardinal of Bari, the representative of the United College at Pisa, went off to the court of Rupert's rival, King Wenzel, at Prague. Both Wenzel and Sigismund had

endeavoured to shake Pope Gregory in his allegiance to Rupert. They had written pointing out how their father Charles the Fourth had secured the allegiance of Germany to the Pope at Rome; they had dwelt on the unshaken fidelity of the house of Luxemburg, whereas the house of Bavaria had already driven one Pope from Rome. Why should the Pope prefer to Sigismund that King who had bought the Romans and caused Pope Innocent to flee from Rome, that King whose father had besieged Pope Urban in Nocera? Let Pope Gregory therefore cancel the approbation of Rupert and recognise Wenzel as the only King of the Romans. Much as Pope Boniface had regretted the step which he took on the 1st October 1403, bitterly as his successors had regretted it, still Gregory felt that it was irrevocable, that he was bound to the weak King Rupert, that Wenzel and his stalwart half-brother must necessarily be ranged against him. He declined their proposal, and informed King Rupert. Thereupon Wenzel wrote to the cardinals at Pisa; he pointed out that he was the rightful King of the Romans, that there was indeed a Schism in the Empire, but that he was ready to do his best to heal the more important Schism in the Church. All that he demanded was that they should acknowledge him as rightful King. This the cardinals were quite ready to do.

But although Wenzel had himself declared for neutrality, there was a difficulty in bringing round the Archbishop and the University of Prague to this mind. The consequent necessity for action hastened an important change in the kingdom and in the seat of learning. Charles the Fourth had meant Bohemia to be the corner-stone of the Germano-Roman Empire; he had also intended the University of Prague to be the most important seat of learning in that Empire. But the Bohemians then as now were intensely patriotic; they cared very much for Bohemia, and very little for the rest of the Empire: they wanted Bohemia for the Bohemians. In the University also there was a party which desired the supremacy of the Bohemians. This institution was founded on the model of Paris rather than of Bologna. It was divided into four nations, the Czechs, the Saxons, the Bavarians, and the Poles; each nation had an equal voice in the government of affairs,

and as three nations of the four were practically Germans, the Teutons outvoted the Bohemians by three to one. This the patriots resented. With John Hus, the Queen's confessor, at their head, they pointed out to King Wenzel that it was unfair that the children of the soil should be at the mercy of the foreigner with no right of habitation, that the University of Prague had been modelled on that of Paris, in which the French were the predominant factor, as the Bohemians should be in Bohemia. They forgot to mention that the Czechs had been favoured at the expense of the other nations in 1384; they failed to remind Wenzel that he had pledged his kingly word in 1399 to aid the other nations; they omitted to state that the Teuton students at the University outnumbered the Czechs by ten to one. There were indeed four nations in the Faculty of Arts at Paris, as there were four nations in the University of Prague: they were the French, the Normans, the Picards, and the English; but the Picards included those from the Low Countries, the English included the Germans, and the French included all the Latin races; and although the French nation had come to outnumber the others, they were originally more nearly equal.[1] What was more important than all else, however, in the eyes of King Wenzel, was that the three Teutonic nations were true to Pope Gregory, while the Bohemians were in favour of neutrality. The ambassadors from the French court and from the University of Paris came to the aid of the Bohemian patriots by representing that the three votes of the nations did not rest on statute but on custom. Wenzel determined to 'free' the Bohemian nation; like the patriots, he was of opinion that the Bohemians should have lordship over the Germans. On the 18th January 1409 he altered the constitution of the University, and decreed that in future the Bohemian nation should have three votes and the other three nations one vote between them.[2] The King had the Patriarch of Aquileia on his side; he now had three votes out of four in the University; on the 22nd January, therefore, the Declaration of Neutrality was made. The Teuton students represented to Wenzel that he had been misinformed and misled, but their efforts were in vain. In disgust they quitted

[1] Rashdall, i. 320.

[2] Palacky, iii. 232.

Prague, two thousand of them in a single day, and three thousand more soon afterwards,[1] and migrated to Leipsic and elsewhere. Thus the University of Prague lost its command and position, as the kingdom of Bohemia had already lost hers; but Wenzel and the Patriots rejoiced. Bohemia was pledged to neutrality; it followed the lead of the cardinals at Pisa.

Still more hostile to the Council of Pisa than King Rupert was his rival for the Empire, King Ladislas of Naples: he was determined that there should be no council if he could help it. He alone of all the monarchs of Europe, he who had taken for his device *Aut Cæsar aut nihil*, had no desire as Cæsar to terminate the Schism; he preferred that there should be two Popes, one at Avignon and one at Rome; and just as the King of France was the natural protector, guide, and director of the Pope at Avignon, so was Ladislas determined, with his kingdom firmly established over Central and Southern Italy, to be the lord and master of the Pope at Rome. If the Great Schism were terminated and there were but a single Pope in Christendom, if there were but a single Pope in Italy, that Pope would naturally seek to strengthen his position in Italy, and the dominion of Ladislas over the centre and south of the peninsula would be fatally endangered. There must be two Popes in Christendom for him to be master of the Pope at Rome.[2] Therefore all thought of union of the Church was hateful to him; the eagerness of Pope Gregory for the termination of the Schism was detestable. He won over the Pope's confessor, getting the Pope to make the Dominican Giovanni Bishop of Gaeta.[3] As soon as he heard of the Treaty of Marseilles, he had sent the sweet-toothed old Pope a valuable present of table-service,[4] which was joyfully received. Ladislas knew that France was bent on ending the Schism; he knew that their allegiance sat lightly on the cardinals of Benedict, who had already once been seduced from their allegiance; he foresaw that if only the cardinals of Gregory were won over to unite with those of Benedict, then French influence would be supreme not only in the coming council but also in the choice of the new pontiff. Ladislas was as clear on this point as was

[1] Pii Papae II., *Opera*, 103.
[2] Brieger, ix. 258.
[3] Brieger, ix. 260.
[4] *De Schismate*, 230.

Sigismund of Hungary. He knew that any Pope whom the cardinals might elect would be hostile to him, and would be friendly to his rival, the Duke of Anjou. He was fighting for the kingdom of Naples which he claimed to inherit from Charles the First of Anjou. For him the fight against the council must be a fight to the death.

The King of Naples tried in the first place to prevent Gregory from leaving Rome by aiding and abetting, though he refrained from personally appearing in, the rising of Nicolo and Giovanni Colonna on the night of the 17th June 1407. That attempt was as already narrated defeated by the proximity and the watchfulness of Paolo Orsini. It wellnigh proved fatal to the hopes of Ladislas, for not only did the Romans call out 'Death to the traitor King and all his people,' but Paolo Orsini himself had entered into a plot to deliver Rome to the Patriarch, Simon de Cramaud—a plot which was only defeated by distrust of the condottiere and by the French hopes fixed on Gregory.[1] The Pope himself reproached Ladislas, charging him with working against the union of the Church, and reminding him of all that Naples owed to the Popes. The red-haired libertine, being now Protector of the Church, could not sit still under this rebuke; he answered ironically that he owed more to his own exertion than to any help from Pope Boniface, that he had taken Ludovico de' Megliorati into his pay to prevent him from doing harm to the Pope, that he was ready to do all that in him lay to heal the Schism. At the same time, he had not been excommunicated, his kingdom had not been placed under an interdict, and the term for the meeting of the two Popes at Savona had passed by. So far Ladislas had won his object. In December he repeated his assurance to Gregory. The austere Dominican confessor also, after his fruitless embassies to Genoa and Venice, returned to Siena and backed up his brethren, the mendicant friars, in their representations of the dangers which would have surrounded Pope Gregory had he ventured to Savona. He was rewarded for his treachery to his early principles and to his zeal for the union by the wealthy Archbishop of Ragusa; he was soon to be a cardinal.

Everything up to this point had favoured the schemes of the

[1] Brieger, ix. 266.

King of Naples. He got ready his forces by land and by sea, being determined to checkmate the French if possible. He had failed to prevent the Pope's departure, but Rome itself was soon in an uproar. Gregory had left behind him in the city Cardinal Petrus Stefaneschi as Vicar General, and Paolo Orsini in command of the troops. They fortified the approaches to the city, called out the citizens in its defence, and increased the number of the paid soldiery. The taxes being insufficient, contributions were levied from laymen and clergy. These measures, the excesses of the troops, and the scarcity of provisions, speedily reduced Rome to a state of seething discontent. The King's work proved easy. The story has been already told. The Cardinal took to flight. Paolo Orsini and his troops, whom Boucicaut was expecting to co-operate with him against Ladislas, entered the service of the King of Naples. On the 25th April 1408, amid the joyous shouts of the fickle populace and the plentiful waving of palms, Ladislas entered Rome under a baldachino held aloft by eight barons. He had anticipated the attempt of Benedict, and Gregory might at least rejoice that the city was not held by his rival, but by a King who had sworn fidelity to him, and who had assured him his protection.

The King did not tarry in Rome. The ruling party in Perugia were waiting to make over to him their city; Pope Gregory and his cardinals were in the power of his friend and ally Paolo Guinigi. Ladislas pushed his troops up through Umbria to the borders of Tuscany. The papal courtiers had meantime urged on Gregory the creation of new cardinals, trying unsuccessfully to get Paolo Guinigi on their side by promising a hat to his relative, the Bishop of Lucca. Paolo Guinigi, however, was not ready for the sake of a relative to see the union of the Church sacrificed; he sympathised with the cardinals, though the latter were by no means unanimous as to the means to be adopted. He cautioned the Pope against the use of harsh measures to the cardinals, who in their turn resolved not to recognise any new creations. The straightforward conduct of his friend Paolo Guinigi, and the secession of Gregory's cardinals, were a blow to Ladislas, who had reckoned on one Pope going to Leghorn and the other to Pisa, and who, on the 3rd May, had written to the Florentines

that he meant to send his galleys to the former place and to go himself to the latter, both as Protector of the Holy Roman Church and to secure his own interest as King of Naples.[1] On the 13th May he sent an embassy to the Pope, accompanied by one from Rome; and on the 21st Gregory issued an encyclical showing that he was on terms of complete understanding with Ladislas as to his occupation of Rome; indeed, shortly afterwards he made over to the King the Vicariate of Rome and of other parts of the Papal States for a consideration. The Pope with his new cardinals and the King with his army were now in open war against the union of the Church.

The Florentines were unfeignedly anxious for the termination of the Schism; its continuance injured them not only as believers, but also as men of commerce in their dealings with those of the opposite obedience. They had, on the 23rd March 1408, expressed to the ambassadors of Gregory their belief that the rival Popes were in collusion, and thought of nothing less than the welfare of the Church; the Venetian ambassadors, returning to Venice through Florence, said the same thing, and laid the whole blame on the new Cardinal Giovanni Domenici.[2] The Florentines were consequently ready for a declaration of neutrality. They had been anxious that the Popes should meet, if possible, and that they should meet at Pisa; they repeatedly urged Gregory to hasten his coming; they promised full security to Benedict. But it was in vain. In May they gave up all hope of a conference between the rival pontiffs. Gino Capponi, a Florentine, went to Lucca, took counsel with the cardinals, and was an accessory to their desertion of Pope Gregory.[3] Having gone thus far, Florence could not rest there. She was anxious to keep on good terms with France, but was as jealous of French influence in Italy and in the settlement of the Schism as she was of the designs of Ladislas in oversetting the equilibrium of the Italian States. She knew that France was ready to interfere; she foresaw that if the coming council of the cardinals were to be held on French territory, if it were held in Genoa, then it would result in the election of a French Pope, and the evil days of the Captivity would return; that the French influence

[1] Brieger, x. 367. [2] Ammirato, iv. 407. [3] Raumer, 201.

would become predominant in Western Europe, that there could be no settlement of the Schism agreeable to Italy, to Germany, and to the northern nations. Not being strong enough to act alone, she entered into a league with Baldassare Cossa, the powerful Cardinal Legate of Bologna. The treaty against peoples, lords, and princes of every rank, even Pope, Kaiser, or King, was concluded on the 30th May 1408. Still the republic desired nothing less than war. She sent Luigi Pitti on the 19th May to Lucca to announce to the Pope the grief with which she had learned of the flight of the cardinals, to entreat him to take no harsh measures against them, to assure him of her filial devotion and desire to render every assistance in the establishment of the union of the Church. To the French ambassadors who desired to know whether Florence would declare for neutrality, she returned an evasive answer, which they interpreted in a satisfactory sense. Such was the state of affairs in Florence when King Ladislas appeared with his army on their frontier, announcing his intention to be present at any council which might be held.

A decisive, straightforward answer would have brought the King and his army on Florence. A temporising reply was necessary. A defensive league was offered: what the King wanted was an alliance against the Duke of Anjou. Florence would not do anything which might bring her into conflict with the cardinals and with France. Ladislas declined their offer. The negotiations had served their purpose: they had gained time; troops had been pushed forward, and the Florentine territories were protected. In the beginning of June the King's ambassador, Cristiano Carraciolo, asked for permission to bring four or five hundred lances through Tuscany to conduct the Pope in safety from Lucca: this was also refused: the republic would not allow foreign troops on her territory in harvest time; she herself would provide for the Pope's safe escort. Ladislas saw that Florence was determined; he protested against their interference with his duty as Protector of the Church; he would wait for ten days, and if the Pope quitted Lucca within that time and did not need his protection, he would be content. Florence sent two envoys to Gregory, promising him an escort of one hundred and fifty lances, and

urging him to write to the King that he did not require his help. They told him that the King would only wait a fixed time. The aged Pope was full of fears for his personal safety; the envoys were full of protestations and promises. Finally, on the 14th July, as already narrated, Gregory left Lucca, and on the 19th he reached Siena. The Florentines breathed afresh; Ladislas, with that lack of energy and determination characteristic of his ambitious but weak nature, abandoned his enterprise, returned to Rome, and on the 25th of July left that city to brawl and wanton the summer through at Naples.[1]

Although she had granted safe-conducts to the cardinals of Benedict, Florence had not as yet definitely withdrawn from the obedience of Gregory. The cardinals had already determined on the 25th March 1409 as the date for their proposed council, and on the 4th August 1408 Florence gave them permission to choose any place in her territories for its meeting.[2] The Cardinals Baldassare Cossa and Petrus Filargi now appeared on the scene. Cossa had already, by means of the Bolognese jurists Butrio and Anchorano, won over the majority of the influential men of Florence to agree to a council being held. On the 23rd August, at the Franciscan cloister, Pisa was decided upon as the place of the council; and on the 13th September a formal contract with this object was made with the Chancellor of the republic, Petrus Ser Mini. The council was to be held within the next eighteen months, and the cardinals were exhorted to settle the dispute as to the crown of Naples. On the 28th August the republic sent the Franciscans, Antonio and Stefano Buonacorsi, to Siena to inform Pope Gregory of their proceedings and to invite him to the council.[3] His answer was what might have been expected.

On the 30th September 1408, King Ladislas sent to Rome his trusted general, the Count of Troja, who took up his abode in the Palace of Saint Apollinaris. Three days later, Pope Gregory's nephew, Paolo Corrario, came to Rome, was magnificently received, stayed the night there, and passed on his way to Naples, where he remained for three weeks in conference with the irresolute King. Ladislas wanted to get the Pope to move from Siena to Perugia, which was under his sway, but

[1] Raumer, 208. [2] Mansi, xxvii. 445-6. [3] *Ibid.* xxvii. 489 *et seq.*

Carlo Malatesta induced the aged pontiff to go rather to Rimini, where he remained from the 3rd November to the 16th May 1409.

Gregory had originally intended to visit Bologna on his way to Rome; he had given the lordship of that city, where Baldassare Cossa was still in secure possession, and the lordship also of Forli, Faenza, and other Church lands to Ladislas in return for twenty thousand florins; and he had bestowed the Vicariate of Forli and Faenza on his own nephews. Carlo Malatesta, however, warned him against putting himself in the power of the ambitious and masterful Legate, who was suspected, utterly without reason, of having caused the death of Pope Innocent, and who had publicly pulled down the insignia of Pope Gregory from the city. Gregory had therefore changed his route, and when he reached Siena he in September 1408 issued a Bull against Baldassare Cossa, recounting all his iniquities, depriving him of the Legation of Bologna, and declaring him to be an enemy and a rebel against the Pope. The Legate simply laughed at the Bull, which he burned in the market-place. Pope Gregory had scorned his overtures; the cardinal had thrown off his allegiance, and was now the recognised head of the conciliar party. On the 14th December, after he had reached Rimini, Pope Gregory again invited his recalcitrant cardinals back, promising them full and free forgiveness if they returned; at the same time, he recounted all their backsliding, and was especially severe on that 'child of iniquity and son of perdition,' Baldassare Cossa, who had abused his position as Legate of Bologna, who had aforetime maligned the Pope as perjured and schismatic, and who had led astray the other cardinals, as well as many prelates, cities, and private persons. Many other detailed charges the Pope brought against his enemy, Baldassare Cossa; but neither Legate nor cardinals paid any attention to his words. Gregory excommunicated them all on the 14th January.[1]

At Florence in January 1409 a provincial council was held, which was attended by the clergy from the Archbishop downwards, by the Franciscan and Carmelite Friars, as well as by

[1] Hefele, vi. 634.

the Priors of the Crafts and the Bannerets of the City. The object of the meeting was to decide on the formal subtraction of obedience. Pope Gregory was informed that the obedience of the republic would be withdrawn from him on the 26th March unless he on or before that date came to Pisa to attend the council. The Pope declined. Obedience was withdrawn.

Florence had still King Ladislas to reckon with. He would wreck the council if he could; he had already in the strongest terms forbidden the publication of the Bull for its convocation in the kingdom of Naples. With the new year (1409) the King roused himself into activity again. He despatched an ambassador, Guffredo, to the cardinals at Pisa, complaining that in their anxiety to obtain the adhesion of his rival, Sigismund of Hungary, they had promised him to take from Ladislas his rights in Naples if Sigismund would only acknowledge the Council; they had moreover treated him disrespectfully, calling him simply Ladislas of Durazzo: his real title was 'Our most serene and unconquered Lord Ladislas by the grace of God most illustrious King of Hungary, Sicily and Jerusalem, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rome, Servia, Galicia, Kumania, Bulgaria, etc., Count of Provence, Piedmont, etc.'[1] This was the King's title, and he expected to be called accordingly. The Florentines knew that the embassy was directed against them as much as against the cardinals, and were anxious to pacify the King: they called on the cardinals to justify themselves and to assure the King that they would recognise his title.[2] Ladislas, however, was in earnest. He assembled an army of ten thousand cavaliers and a large body of foot-soldiers; his ships of war were in the harbours, and his supplies were in readiness. Pope Gregory had assigned to him the States of the Church. The King meant to make himself master, if possible, of his new possessions. He announced his intention of marching against Siena, and of besieging Baldassare Cossa in Bologna; he sent the Constable Alberigo da Barbiano northward with forces. The Florentines came to the aid of their ally; they reinforced their castles, they encouraged the Sienese; they took troops into their pay, and appointed Malatesta de Pandolfo de' Malatesti their commandant. The

[1] *De Schismate*, 287. [2] Mansi, xxvii. 492.

warlike Legate marched with all his men against the Constable, who, after parleying with Malatesta, took his departure. Then Ottobuon Terzo, with more Neapolitan troops, appeared, but was held at bay by the combined forces of the Legate, Malatesta, and the Marquess of Ferrara.[1] The weather this year was mild, clear, and fine up to the beginning of March, so that the violets, the almond-trees, the plums, and the peaches blossomed, the vines put forth their clusters, and all the trees came into leaf; then it turned bitterly cold beyond all knowledge, and provisions became excessively dear.

On the 12th March Ladislas arrived from Naples at Rome, and stayed there in the Pope's palace until the 2nd April, ready for war. On his banners were inscribed the lines—

> 'I am a poor King, a friend of freebooters,
> A lover of the people, and a destroyer of tyrants.'[2]

The King set himself forth as a protector of the disinherited and a herald of freedom. This was his new rôle.

Ladislas set out toward Siena. The Florentines sent ambassadors to him; he denied that he had ever promised not to interfere in the affairs of Tuscany, and promised to send an embassy to Florence. His ambassadors came; they complained of the Florentines for their dealings with Perugia, for their league with Baldassare Cossa, the King's enemy, who had robbed the King's trusted man, Alberigo da Barbiano, of his lands, and for their taking the Castle of Monte Carlo from the Lord of Lucca. But the head and front of the Florentines' offending was that they had given Pisa to the cardinals for the election of a new Pope, whereas Gregory, a holy man, was the only true Pope and only person who could canonically convoke a council. The Florentines excused themselves as best they could: they were pledged to a council; this would bring, as they knew, the election of a new Pope; they were anxious to avoid the interference of France in the kingdom of Naples. The ambassadors asked them to make a league with Ladislas for mutual defence. But the shifty King was not a man on whom the Republic could depend.

[1] Mur. xviii. 595-6.

[2] *Ibid.* xxiv. 999.

The Florentines refused the proffered league; they could not break their alliance with the men of Siena and the Legate of Bologna whose envoys were present: the Sienese gave the like answer. The ambassadors were forced to return with this unsatisfactory message to their King, who was very wroth, and who threatened soon to make the Florentines sing a different tune. Ladislas then moved on to Siena, remained there a few days plundering and ravaging, but was obliged to shift his quarters for want of provisions. On the 1st May he entered the Florentine territory, and on the 3rd pitched his camp at Olmo, near Arezzo, where he wrought great damage. He was unable to take any of the high-lying cities, but he wasted the country around. On the 16th April, Baldassare Cossa sent troops under Malatesta to the aid of the Florentines: the joint forces marched to Arezzo and offered battle to the King, but Ladislas avoided anything like an encounter; he marched off to Castiglione and thence to Cortona, plundering and spoiling the crops, the vines, and the fruit-trees, ravaging the dominions which the Pope had assigned to him. He did more damage than any man before him, wherefore the peasants called him in derision 'King Waste-crop.'[1]

Baldassare Cossa, on the other hand, was completely successful. On the 7th May he marched with a mighty array of bombards, mangonels, catapults, and the like instruments of war against the Constable Alberigo da Barbiano, defeated him on the 16th, chased him out of Romagna, and took several strong places; while two days later his general, Sforza, put a finishing touch to the good work by surprising and killing the King's other general, Ottobuon Terzo.[2] While eminent ecclesiastics from all countries of Europe were assembling at Pisa, the work of defending Tuscany and the Council against King Ladislas, of rendering it possible to hold a Council at all, fell almost entirely under the guidance of the Papal Legate of Bologna, 'the vigorous ruler, the intelligent statesman, the successful general';[3] and this explains why he, a Cardinal of the Church, could take no part in the earlier proceedings of the Council of Pisa. At Cortona Ladislas tried to win over the Lord of the city by bribery;

[1] Tartini, ii. 597-602. [2] Mur. xviii. 597. [3] Raumer, 187.

he was unsuccessful, but certain of the citizens themselves turned traitors. On the 3rd June the Neapolitan general, the Count of Troja, was admitted into the city, the Lord of Cortona was bound hand and foot and sent off to Naples; while the French ambassador, who was also captured, was held to ransom. The Venetians then unsuccessfully attempted to make peace between Florence and Ladislas; and the King, leaving troops in Perugia, Cortona, and other places, returned to Naples. His attempt to baulk the Council of Pisa had been frustrated mainly through the energy and military resource of Baldassare Cossa, Papal Legate of Bologna.

Not less opposed to the Council than Rupert and Ladislas was King Sigismund of Hungary. From the time when Pope Boniface the Ninth had countenanced the invasion of his kingdom by Ladislas of Naples, Sigismund had broken off relations with the court at Rome. He had not turned to the Pope at Avignon, but he had withdrawn the spiritual obedience of Hungary from Rome, and had appointed to benefices whom he would.[1] When Gregory became Pope, Sigismund renewed his intercourse with Rome. He sent in 1406 envoys from Spalatro to the Pope asking for help against the Turks and the heretical Bosnians, and Gregory had hastened to grant remission of sins to all sinners who aided the King in his warfare.[2] From that time the friendly relations between the two courts remained unbroken, although the Papacy never regained its old influence in Hungary.

Sigismund regarded the Council of Pisa as a machination of the French who, in his view, wanted to get possession of both the Church and the Empire, and to reduce the whole world under their sway. There were some grounds for this view. Although the jurists had urged independent action on the College as early as October 1407, yet the seven cardinals of Gregory, when they broke away from their obedience and appealed from the Pope to Christ and a General Council, when they claimed the aid of princes and prelates for the union of the Church, still did not attempt to gain their end independently of the Pope. It was not until they were joined by the French cardinals from the

[1] *De Schismate*, 153. [2] Sauerbrei, 16.

obedience of Benedict that they determined on the decisive step. No sooner had the step been taken than it was acclaimed by the French clergy and by the French King. The project of the Council of Pisa had been taken under French protection. On the 12th January 1409 Charles the Sixth had announced his intention of endeavouring to win over the courts of Europe to a declaration of neutrality between the Popes; he had despatched his ambassadors and had informed the cardinals of their success.[1] Sigismund believed that his aim was to depose both existing Popes and to elect a new Pope who should be a Frenchman, as subservient to French interests as Clement the Fifth and Clement the Seventh had been before him. There was more hope for Sigismund from a man like Gregory than from a French Pope. When the cardinals wrote to him, he warned them to go to work warily, lest they should otherwise make confusion worse confounded.

The same apprehension was present to the minds of Sigismund, of Rupert, and of Pierre d'Ailly. Sigismund would hear of no council in which the Pope was not present. Let a General Council meet under Pope Gregory, let all the princes of Europe attend in person or by their representatives, let the council then determine whether Gregory was bound by the oath he had sworn; and if it held that Gregory was so bound, then let the cardinals proceed to a fresh election. This was his plan; it was the plan also of Carlo Malatesta. But neither of them had any influence at that time with the aged Pope. The Lord of Rimini besought him to enter into communication with the cardinals at Pisa, but he would not. 'What would become of his own cardinals?' said Gregory; 'what would become of King Rupert, of King Sigismund, of King Ladislas, what would become of the others who held by him, and who were therefore most odious to the cardinals at Pisa?'[2] All was of no avail. King Sigismund in his scheme did not mention Pope Benedict; he knew that France, the most important country, had subtracted her obedience, and he took no heed of other nations such as Scotland and Spain; nor again did he contemplate the contingency that the council

[1] Goeller, 29-31.

[2] Mansi, xxvii. 95.

might decide that under existing circumstances Gregory was not bound by his promise. His uppermost thought was that all unity of action was utterly impossible if the council was in the hands of France, and with such a council he would have nothing to do.

Meantime, on the 30th May 1408, Florence had made a league with Baldassare Cossa, Cardinal Legate of Bologna: Pisa had been granted to the cardinals for their council, and they had issued invitations thereto. The cardinals had bidden Pope Gregory to Pisa, but he had answered them that to him alone the right of convocation belonged, that he had already convoked a council elsewhere, and that he was ready to forgive and to reinstate them if they attended. Although the Florentines were not unwilling to meet Gregory's wishes, the cardinals stood firm. They insisted that the Pope's right to convoke a council belonged only to a Pope who was recognised as the universal and rightful head of all Christendom; that at present there were two Popes, neither of whom had obtained universal recognition nor could be held to be rightful Pope; that the right to convoke a council was therefore lost to the Popes and had devolved on the cardinals who had chosen them; and finally, that it was the expression of their intention to call such a council which had induced the rival Popes to issue their invitations.

From the cardinals King Sigismund received two invitations to their council, one dated the 16th July, the second dated the 9th September. Though there were now three councils convoked, the King did not give up hope. He sent his ambassador, William of Prata, to Venice to induce the Republic, which was of his mind in the matter, to reconcile Pope and cardinals, and to get them to hold a council wherein it should be determined whether the Pope was bound by his promise or not; on the understanding, however, that if not so bound, the Pope should nevertheless be obliged to abide by whatever resolution the council might approve as to the means of ending the Schism. In other words, Sigismund was now ready to agree that the Pope should be forced to abdicate if the council so determined; thus far he was willing to concede to the cardinals. The important question now was,

however, not whether the Pope was bound by his oath, but who was entitled to convoke the council.

At the end of January Gregory had taken up his abode at Rimini, under the protection of Carlo Malatesta, who was renowned and respected by all parties both as a general and as a statesman. Carlo Malatesta joined with the King and the Republic, and persuaded Gregory to be ready to abandon his own council provided he could unite with his cardinals in calling one. Bologna, Forli, Mantua, or Rimini was suggested as the place of meeting; or, as Gregory himself proposed, some place might be named by an umpire elected by both parties. William of Prata and Marino Rosso went as ambassadors to the cardinals; if they won over the old cardinals of Gregory, they were then to try those of Benedict. King Sigismund knew of Benedict's alleged eagerness for the union of the Church; and if he and Gregory and the cardinals could all be brought to be of one mind, then a time and place for the future council could be fixed, and there would be a chance of the Schism being really ended.[1] But the cardinals regarded a proposal emanating from their old enemy as might have been expected: they were not again to be deceived by him; there could be but one result to the embassy: they refused to stultify themselves in the eyes of Europe by giving up their council at Pisà.

King Sigismund was disappointed. On the 7th February 1409 he informed the republic of Venice that he had let the cardinals know that he held Gregory for the only true Pope, and that he had no intention of subtracting the obedience of Hungary from him. He even appeared at this time to contemplate appearing at the council which that Pope had convoked at Udine. Gregory meantime, on the 14th December, addressed a final supplication to his cardinals to return to their obedience: on the 14th January 1409 they received from him a Bull denouncing them as apostates, schismatics, blasphemers, and foresworn. It was a mere *brutum fulmen* from the aged Pope, who was now to feel his forsaken condition. At the end of January the Republic of Florence definitely seceded to the enemy's camp. About the same

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1111; Goeller, 42.

time appeared ambassadors from Henry the Fourth of England, urging the Pope to agree to the Council at Pisa, and informing him that, in any case, prelates from England would be in attendance there. Sigismund himself forsook him. Although the King was not represented at the Council of Pisa, he informed the cardinals that he was in accord with his brother's wishes. He did not believe in the Council of Pisa; he refused to countenance its proceedings; but he was eminently an active, practical man, with head and hands full of far-reaching projects, and he needed a Pope who could help him. A Pope forsaken by every crowned head of Europe, except his two enemies Ladislas and Rupert, was no good to King Sigismund of Hungary. He was represented neither at the Council of Pisa nor at that of Cividale.

The account of the strenuous opposition offered by King Ladislas of Naples, and of the equally strenuous measures taken in defence of the council by Baldassare Cossa, Papal Legate at Bologna, while it clears the way for the consideration of what occurred at Pisa, has taken us somewhat in advance of the rest of the story. From the date of the arrival of Simon de Cramaud and Pierre Plaoul from their embassy to Pope Gregory, there had been, as has already been mentioned, constant correspondence between Paris and Leghorn. It was determined to send twelve representatives from every ecclesiastical province of France to the Council of Pisa. The Abbé of Citeaux promised to attend with twelve Cistercian abbots; the bishops, monasteries, and universities had received separate invitations, and all were warned by the King to be in attendance at Pisa on the 25th March 1409. The influence of the Duke of Burgundy, whose apology for his crime had been read on the 8th March by Jean Petit, was supreme. The University of Paris surpassed itself in its animosity to Pope Benedict: it declared the three French cardinals who still adhered to him, as well as two new French cardinals whom he had recently promoted, to be 'suspects'; it published a fresh ordonnance of neutrality. There was much discussion in the Council at Paris as to the government of the Church, the collation of benefices, and other points in the absence of the Pope, but arrangements were made. The French court

and clergy, as a body, were prepared loyally to support the Council of Pisa.

While the fifth council of the clergy was being held at Paris, Pope Benedict was gathering the remains of his court around him at Perpignan. Seven of his cardinals had left him to join the twelve cardinals of the opposite obedience in Italy; an eighth had disappeared and his whereabouts was not known; a ninth, the Cardinal Anglesola, had died shortly after landing in Rousillon; a tenth, Louis de Bar, had gone to the court of France, to take there the place to which his birth entitled him. There remained only three: the Savoyard de Chalant, whom Benedict had raised to the purple in 1404 but could not trust; Jean Flandrin, who had been cardinal since 1390; and Louis Fieschi of Geneva, who owed his hat originally to Pope Urban the Sixth (1385). On the 22nd September Benedict raised five more to the college, one a native of Castile, two of Aragon, and two of France. One of these latter, however, died sixteen days after his nomination. There remained therefore seven cardinals to support the Pope in his council at Perpignan. He had invited the French clergy, but the King of France had promptly issued decrees forbidding them to attend, and had posted guards to stop their egress into Spain. Benedict still kept up correspondence with his cardinals in Italy: in July he summoned them to attend his council; in September they replied by announcing to him the Council of Pisa and regretting that they could not attend that at Perpignan, of which they did not see the use. Then on the 6th November arrived the official intimation of the Council at Pisa, to which Benedict and his three original cardinals, who were also invited to attend, replied that he alone could convoke a General Council, that he could not go to Pisa, and that his cardinals were to come to Perpignan. The date fixed for the opening had already passed. Still another communication was to pass from his refractory cardinals to Pope Benedict. On the 25th January 1409 they sent him a long letter from Pisa, in which they again reminded him of his authorising them to call a synod; they mentioned that his rival now had scarce where to lay his head, and expressed their hope that his perverse

refractoriness would not endanger the unity of the Church; they again begged Benedict to appear at the council at Pisa. Not till the 5th March did the Pope answer this letter. He referred them to the conclusions of his Council of Perpignan, which had been published, and to the letters which his envoys should bring as soon as they had obtained their safe-conduct; he concluded by warning them against the election of any new Pope. Meantime, as already intimated, the Council of Perpignan had been held.[1]

The Council of Perpignan had been called for the 1st November, but the opening was postponed for a fortnight, and the Pope to increase his pomp had, like his rival, named four Patriarchs. On the 15th November the stately little Pope in great splendour descended from the Castle of Perpignan to the Church de la Réal (*beatae Mariae regalis*) and opened his council. The Pope himself read the Mass, the Dominican Bishop of Oleron preached; King Martin of Aragon was the Protector of the Council. Beside the four Patriarchs and the nine cardinals there were present the Archbishops of Toledo, Saragossa, and Tarragona; thirty-three bishops, together with many prelates from different parts of the peninsula and also from Gascony, Savoy, and Lorraine. Many more would have come from France, but for the royal prohibition, and many of those who did come were forced to wear disguises to elude the guards set to stop them on the road. Including the envoys from different potentates there were not far short of three hundred persons assembled.[2] The first and the second sessions (Saturday, 17th November) were ceremonial: the Pope made his confession of orthodoxy. The real business began with the third session on the 21st November.

Benedict rose and spoke shortly on the importance of œcumenical councils. He regretted that the Babylonish confusion of the time had prevented him from convoking one, but he had assembled the present council to do what in him lay for the reformation of the Church and the termination of the unfortunate Schism; and in order to refute the calumnies against him, he had committed to writing a full account of all his endeavours hitherto. The Cardinal de Chalant then

[1] Hefele, vi. 935.

[2] Valois, iv. 47.

began to read the lengthy memoir which set forth in its true light the whole pontificate of Pope Benedict. It took from the third to the ninth session, on the 1st December, to get through the long history. Then on the 5th December the Pope asked the council for its advice as to his future conduct, alleging that he was ready to sacrifice his life in the interest of the Church. Seeing that the majority of those present were Spaniards, Benedict thought he might safely trust them with his future. But he was bitterly disappointed. The answer should have been given on the 12th December, but owing to the difficulty of the question and the long deliberation necessary, the council found it impossible to reply to the Pope's question before Friday, the 1st February 1409. The majority of the members had meantime departed. The council recognised the efforts which Benedict had made; it freed him from all reproach of heresy or schism; it proclaimed him a good Christian and a good Pope. But it was intent on ending the Schism, and on doing so with the least delay possible. Some of its members desired him to send proctors to Pisa empowered to effect his abdication in case of the death, the abdication, or the deposition of his rival:[1] this advice was condemned by others; discussions followed; there seemed little hope of unanimity; and the numbers dwindled still further. Those in attendance were reduced to sixty, to thirty, to eighteen, finally to ten: these were the Cardinals of Toulouse and Chalons; the Patriarch of Antioch, the Archbishops of Saragossa and Tarragona, the Chancellor of the King of Castile, three bishops, and the general of the Dominican order.

On the 1st February, in the names of eighteen members of the council, the Patriarch of Constantinople presented to the Pope a schedule in which they besought him to hold fast to the 'way of cession' and to declare his readiness to abdicate if his rival were deposed; to send to Gregory and to the cardinals at Pisa trustworthy envoys empowered to do all that he could do in person to secure the peace of the Church; and finally, to arrange that in case of his death no new election should be made.[2] He was still, in spite of

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1110. [2] Hefele, vi. 990; Valois, iv. 49.

all that he had done, in the teeth of the council's own approval of his actions, to be forced into the 'way of cession' which he hated. The determined little Pope received the deputation, and read the schedule: 'I shall do none of these things,' he said; 'besides, I know that you are not all of one mind.' 'Holy Father,' replied the deputation, 'there is but one of us who dissents.' 'Then he is more sensible than the rest of you,' answered Benedict; and turning to De Chalant, he added angrily: 'I forbid you on your obedience to speak of this matter in the council. Do you wish to make me a scandal?' 'I desire to raise no scandal, Holy Father,' replied the Savoyard, 'but I must express my opinion in the council.' The Pope became furious, and threatened to imprison the Cardinal so that he should never see the sun again. Finally the Pope agreed to select envoys from different nations to represent him at Pisa, and to examine the conditions on which it was proposed to treat of the peace of the Church. This was on the 12th February; he adjourned the announcement of the names of his ambassadors to the 26th March. In the meantime he was again invited to go to Pisa; the French king, Constable Boucicaut, the Genoese, and the Florentines, offered him a safe-conduct for thirteen months. For all reply Benedict threatened to excommunicate any one who took any measures to his prejudice or who dared to elect a new Pope while he was alive.[1] His logical firmness had degenerated into headstrong obstinacy. Even he, however, was obliged to recognise that the Council of Perpignan was a deplorable failure, although it was not such an utter fiasco as the council subsequently held by his rival Gregory.

Pope Benedict the Thirteenth enjoyed at least the credit of holding his council at Perpignan in good time: it was opened and was practically closed before the great Council of Pisa commenced. But Pope Gregory the Twelfth was more dilatory. On the 2nd July 1408 he had announced that he called a General Council for next Pentecost at some place, to be hereafter determined, in the Province of Aquileia or the Exarchate of Ravenna; and on the 5th July he had written to King

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1119.

Rupert to the same effect. At the end of July and the beginning of August he had commissioned the Austin Friar Hieronymus and the Minorite Fernandus to carry the news to all patriarchs, archbishops, and others. On the 19th September he created a batch of ten new cardinals. In October, Cardinal Giovanni Dominici had written to England. On the 13th December the Pope's nephew, Antonio Corrario, was sent as Cardinal Legate to Germany and Flanders; on the 8th January Giovanni Dominici was similarly sent to Hungary and Poland; and on the 17th Bishop Antonio of Porto was sent to England to beat up recruits for the council, the place of meeting having on the 19th December been designated as Cividale and Udine.[1]

Meantime Lady Day 1409 came and the great Council of Pisa was opened. Carlo Malatesta, Pope Gregory's best and truest friend, went there to protest; the details of his interviews with the cardinals will hereafter be narrated. When he returned to Rimini he did his best to induce the Pope to go with his Curia to Pistoja or San Miniato in order to treat with the cardinals; but Gregory, who was persuaded that they wanted to capture him, obstinately refused, and held fast to his own plan of a council in the Province of Friuli.[2] Difficulties were already arising. Gregory had intended to hold his synod in Udine, which like Bologna was a city of arcaded streets, but which was not as yet guarded by the citadel on Attila's Mound nor adorned by the civic palace modelled after that of the Doges of Venice. Udine was, however, the capital of the Patriarchs of Aquileia, and they were the chief princes of that corner of Italy. Unfortunately the Patriarch in possession at this present was not the nominee of Pope Gregory, but the adherent of King Wenzel and of the Cardinals. On the 16th May the men of Udine held a meeting in opposition to the projected council, and on the 29th they called on their Patriarch, Antonius Pancera de Portogruario, to remain true to them and not to give in to Pope Gregory.[3] The Pope was therefore obliged to change the venue to the little town of Cividale, still nearer to the Julian Alps, ten miles to the east of Udine.

Cividale, formerly known as Friuli or Forum Julii, where

[1] *Roem. Quart.* 223-30. [2] Mansi, xxvii. 300. [3] *Roem. Quart.* 235.

the wind blows shrewdly from 'the Alpine height of blue Friuli's mountains,' 'though now shorn of some of its old glory, is still one of the most interesting and picturesque cities of the Venetian mainland. It is situated on the north-eastern margin of that great alluvial plain, and clings, as it were, to the skirts of the mountains which are climbed by the highway of the Predil Pass. The city is divided from one of its suburbs by a deep gorge, through which, blue as a turquoise, flow the waters of the river Natisone on their way to the ruins of desolate Aquileia.'[1] It was here, on the 6th June 1409, more than ten weeks after the cardinals had passed in solemn inaugural procession over the wooden bridge of the Arno, less than three weeks before the day when the bells rang out from the Leaning Tower their welcome to the new Pope of the council, that Pope Gregory the Twelfth opened his council. King Ladislas of Naples, who sixteen years earlier had been offered in marriage to the daughter of Sultan Bajazet,[2] was now Protector of the Holy Roman Church. With his aid Gregory had attempted to win the allegiance of his own native city; but the Venetians, undeterred by 'French fatuity and Florentine malignity,' had declined; they ultimately went over to the Council of Pisa and its Pope. Nor did any of the German prelates appear; the charming of the Pope's nephew had been in vain; and King Rupert's letter, only sent off about the middle of June, had not had time to take effect.

The Pope said Mass and opened the Council, and by reason of the paucity of numbers postponed the second session for a fortnight. On the 20th June there were present six cardinals, three envoys from the King of the Romans and two from King Ladislas; the business officials were elected and the next session appointed for the 28th. On that date certain acts and deeds were read, but nothing of importance was done, and the fourth session was fixed for the 15th July, before which date the hearts of the little assembly were cheered by the advent of three more cardinals. At the next meeting the Pope rose and explained to the 'Œcumenical Council' all the manifold labours he had endured in trying to effect a meeting with his rival, and concluded by reminding them that they were there present in

[1] Hodgkin, vi. 39.

[2] Huber, *Geschichte Oesterreichs*. ii. 356.

order to express their views as to the best method of obtaining union in the Church. The Cardinal of Utica then addressed them: he thought that some principality or power, the Republic of Venice for choice, should intervene and invite all three Popes to meet in order simultaneously to resign. Even if it were impossible to procure the attendance of the Pope at Avignon, still he was bound by the oath which he had taken at his coronation and by his subsequent promise, so that he could be condemned as a fautor of schism, a perjurer, a contumacious and incorrigible heretic.[1] It was late when the worthy cardinal had finished, and the same session was continued on the 23rd, when the Cardinal of Ragusa, the ambassadors of the two Kings, and others presented their views, some in writing and some by word of mouth, after which the fifth session was fixed for the 2nd August.

Pope Gregory meantime, on the 21st July, despatched the Austin Hermit Hieronymus to Hungary, and five days later appointed Bishop Albert of Posen as his Legate to Poland, and Archbishop Sbinko of Prague to Bohemia.[2] He also nominated in the same capacity Bishop Henry of Winchester, notorious for his incontinence, as Legate in England.[3] The fifth session was engrossed by the ambassadors of King Rupert: they were the Bishops of Wuerzburg, Worms, and Verden, the Abbot of Maulbronn, Blasius of Milan, and three other doctors of law. They read the King's appeal from the Council of Pisa, which was admitted and duly considered; finally it was agreed that a missive should be sent to the Republic of Venice, urging them to display their 'zeal, love, favour, and suffrage' to our Lord the Pope. King Rupert's letters to the princes, bishops, chapters, and cities of Germany had been as ineffective as usual; no representative appeared. Gregory on the same day sent off two envoys to Venice, but received no favourable reply from the Republic. At the sixth session, held on the 23rd August, the number of cardinals in attendance, notwithstanding the recent creations, had by reason of their sickness dwindled to six. At this session a commission was appointed to investigate the title to the Papacy. The next meeting, on the 27th, was occupied in hearing their report; and the Pope

[1] *Roem. Quart.* 256. [2] *Ibid.* 238-9. [3] Hefele, vi. 1038.

expressed his intention of continuing the present council at some future time at Rome, but at the same time appointed a date for the next session.

The eighth, and as it proved the last and most important, session of the Council of Cividale was held on the 5th September 1409. Probably the members felt that their days in Friuli were short, for they were roused into unwonted activity. They found that Urban the Sixth, Boniface the Ninth, and Innocent the Seventh had been canonically elected; that Gregory was the only rightful Pope; that the two Peters, of Luna and of Candia—the latter had been elected by the Council of Pisa—were sacrilegious Antipopes, schismatics, perjurers, disturbers and destroyers of the Church. Having fulminated this dreadful sentence, the tiny council adjourned till the 9th, but they were never to meet again, for before that day the Pope had fled. Gregory declared that he was still burning with desire for the unity of the Church, and that he was ready to resign if Peter of Luna and Peter of Candia would do the like 'according to the formulary of the conclave.' He left the time and place of resignation to be fixed by the three Kings, Rupert of Germany, Ladislas of Naples, and Sigismund of Hungary. They were to act in concert, and he named as his own attorney Carlo Malatesta.[1] The proposal sounded like a feeble joke from the weak old man; for Sigismund and Ladislas had been deadly enemies for the last twenty years, Ladislas and Rupert were competitors for the imperial crown, and Sigismund and Rupert were at odds on the same score. It would have been impossible to find three princes in Europe less likely to meet and agree together than were these three. However, it mattered little what Gregory said or did. He had written to King Rupert, thanking him for his fidelity and telling him that he felt his position becoming precarious and must betake himself to the refuge of King Ladislas. His chief object now was to get away to some place safer than Cividale.

Antonius de Portogruario, the nominee of the cardinals at Pisa, was now Patriarch of Aquileia in possession. A year earlier Pope Gregory had attempted to oust him: the time had now come for the Patriarch to take his revenge. He

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1091.

caused all the passes to be watched to prevent the escape of the Pope and his cardinals. The Venetians had sent to the Pope to ascertain his intentions, and Gregory feared that they might take upon them to execute the decree of excommunication which the Council of Pisa had passed against him. He asked for time to give his answer; he really wanted the time to plan his escape to the port where the two galleys sent by King Ladislas were awaiting him. It was on the 6th September before daybreak, between the seventh and eighth hours of the night, that the Pope took flight. He dressed his chamberlain, Paolo Lolli, a Roman, who was very like him in the face, in the pontifical robes, and gave him the escort of Ladislas as his guard. Gregory disguised himself as a merchant; he mounted a horse, and took with him only two foot-servants. Thus he managed to elude the sentries of the Patriarch; he reached the shore, took a small boat, gained the galleys, and thus made his escape to Gaeta. The unfortunate chamberlain Lolli was seized, forced to walk two miles bare-headed, and was forcibly dragged along before the mistake was discovered. In their anger the soldiers tore off his gorgeous robes, beat him, and took from him the five hundred golden florins which he carried; one of his captors donned the pontifical raiment, marched up and down the streets of Udine, and showered sham benedictions on the people. Gregory meantime got safe to Ladislas, his present and most powerful protector.[1]

Pitiful as were his efforts for supremacy in the Church, Pope Gregory had not been entirely without help and sympathy. King Ladislas of Naples and Carlo Malatesta of Rimini had been faithful to him. Venice had refused to listen to the French ambassadors and declined for the time to subtract her obedience; Sigismund of Hungary would not follow the lead of Wenzel, and took no part in the Council of Constance. Nor was Benedict without his adherents: the King of Aragon announced to the King of France that he meant to take part in the Council of Perpignan, and not in that of Pisa; the Regent of Castile would only consent to subtract his obedience if Benedict did not abdicate before the

[1] *De Schismate*, 316; Hefele, vi. 1036-9.

Council of the Cardinals assembled; the Regent and the prelates of Scotland remained deaf to the charming of the King of France; and Pope Benedict thought he could count upon the adhesion of Anthony of Brabant, brother of John, Duke of Burgundy.

England took the side of the cardinals at Pisa. The Abbot of Westminster and other Englishmen of note had been at Lucca and had witnessed Gregory's tergiversations; Archbishop Arundel was at one with the French, and under his influence the heart of King Henry the Fourth had been 'most blessedly kindled with zeal for the union of the Church.' When the King 'heard how matters sped in Italy, he did not mince his words. He would stand by the cardinals if he had to shed his blood or be brayed in bits for it.' Notwithstanding this it was with great reluctance that he abandoned Gregory, and he subsequently assured King Rupert that he had never formally withdrawn obedience. But Francesco Uguccione, Archbishop of Bordeaux, crossed the Channel in November 1408, bringing with him a letter from Simon de Cramaud and other prelates in Paris; he pleaded 'laudably and elegantly' before the King and his lords spiritual and temporal. Sir John Cheyne and Bishop Chichele, who held a brief for Gregory, remained silent; and the cardinal was assured that England would send her representatives to the council at Pisa.[1]

The King of France was equally successful elsewhere in his endeavours on behalf of the cardinals. Genoa subtracted her obedience on the 21st July 1408; Florence subtracted hers formally on the 7th February 1409; Milan and Bologna were already on the side of France; Germany was divided. King Rupert had some ground for his bitter denunciations of the French court, who now, under the influence of John the Fearless, were negotiating a marriage between the niece of his rival Wenzel and the nephew of the Duke of Burgundy. France, said the King, was alone responsible for the prolongation of the Schism; France had lavished gold to induce the cardinals to elect a French Pope; France had suddenly become favourable to a council because she saw herself power-

[1] Wylie, iii. 349-66.

less otherwise to attain her ends; France was using the Church simply to extend her conquests on the side of the Empire. But Heaven was tired of this impious policy; the kingdom was a prey to the horrors of war; Charles was lunatic, and the royal princes were at deadly enmity one with another. The colouring of the picture was overcharged, but there was a certain amount of truth in the main outlines.[1] The initial step had been taken by the cardinals, of whom the majority were Italian. The University of Bologna had kept step with the University of Paris. The treatise of Francesco Zabarella, dated the 4th November 1408, had set forth the superiority of the council over the Pope as clearly as any tractate of Jean Gerson. The Kings of England, of Bohemia, of Poland, of Portugal, of Cyprus; the Dukes of Holland and of Austria; the Electors of Cologne and of Mainz and other magnates of Germany—all these, no less than the French, had promised to take part in the heroic endeavour which the cardinals were to make at Pisa to put an end to the accursed, thirty years old, Great Schism of the Church.

[1] Valois, iv. 72.

# CHAPTER IX

## PISA

At the time of the Great Council of Pisa, this Ghibeline city, which had ever been faithful to the Emperor, had fallen under the dominion of her ancient rival, the Guelf city of Florence, which had generally been faithful to the Pope; so that from the political point of view there was something appropriate in its being the scene of an œcumenical council, supposed to represent all parties. The change in its fortune was the result of a quadrilateral struggle between France, as represented by Boucicaut the Governor of Genoa, Florence, and the Signor and the people of Pisa itself. It had come about on this wise.

Pisa in old times, like Ravenna, had been situate almost on the shore of Italy;[1] its navy had rivalled those of Venice and Genoa. Now Pisa, like Ravenna, was six miles inland. It is in the centre of a large, plain, corn-growing land; to the north-east are the Monte Pisani, whose snow-capped heights in winter and early spring flush to a delicate pink in the rays of the western sun; to the west are other small hills. As the dry land grew up between the city and the sea, each place had constructed for itself a new port; in Ravenna it was Classis, at Pisa it was Leghorn. And just as at Ravenna there was a pine forest, the 'immemorial wood' which Byron loved, seaward from the city, so too at Pisa there was to the north-west, seaward from the city, a pine forest where Shelley wandered,

> 'All overwrought with branchlike traceries
> In which there is religion.'

[1] Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, ii. 79, note.

Pisa, like Perugia and Siena, fell before the might of Gian Galeazzo of Milan, and when his strong hand was removed by death, the old feud with Florence broke out afresh. The Pisans ravaged the fields and vineyards and harried the cattle of Florence, and the Florentines did the like by them; the advantage lay on the side of the stronger city.[1] Duke Gian Galeazzo in his will left Pisa and a few other small places to his natural and eldest son, Gabriel Maria; and Gabriel and his mother, the beautiful and strenuous Agnese Mantegazza, fearing the troubles under the regency in Milan, came to Pisa for refuge in November 1403. They were very coldly received, and the coldness turned to disaffection when Gabriel Maria announced that he wanted money. The citizens represented their inability to pay; but Gabriel Maria seized some of their leaders, condemned them for treachery, and raised funds by fines and confiscations.[2] Disaffection now turned to hatred. In January 1404 an exile from Pisa prompted the Florentines to make an attack; but he repented him of his villainy, went and informed the Ancients of Pisa: a guard was posted and the attack was averted.[3] The Signor of Pisa was now in a dilemma: the citizens hated him mortally; the Florentines threatened to take his city. He therefore cast himself on the protection of France.

Boucicaut knew that if Pisa and Leghorn passed into the possession of Florence they would be a thorn in the side of Genoa, and formidable rivals to her trade; he communicated his views to the French court, which gladly received the overtures of Gabriel Maria. On the 15th April 1404 Gabriel swore fealty to the King of France, signed a treaty with Boucicaut's delegate, declaring that he held his domains of the French King and would make peace or war only as he pleased, and promised in symbol of his fealty to send every year a horse and a falcon. He also agreed to give Boucicaut possession of Leghorn. France on her side undertook to maintain Gabriel Maria at Pisa; and the Signiory over the city was bestowed by the King on the 24th May on his brother Louis of Orleans, although the administration was to be carried on by Boucicaut.[4] Pisa consequently was trans-

[1] Tartini, ii. 468, 472; Ammirato, iv. 347.
[2] Tartini, ii. 477.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 488.
[4] Jarry, 338.

ferred to the obedience of Pope Benedict, and it was at this time, when the Pope was at Genoa with his faithful friend in the summer of 1405, that the Venetians suspected Boucicaut of meditating a *coup de main* to put Benedict in possession of Rome.

As soon as the terms between Gabriel Maria and France had been arranged, Boucicaut sent information to Florence asking for their congratulation as a friendly power; at the same time he seized the property of some Florentine merchants. The Florentines remonstrated, sent an embassy to France, and demanded the release of the property; but they were forced to make a league with Pisa for four years in order to obtain release of the property, which was worth one hundred thousand florins.[1] Gabriel Maria now began to think that he might make a better bargain with the Florentines than with the French, and Boucicaut himself began to take a different view of the acquisition of Pisa. He held Genoa with the aid of the Guelfs, and Pisa was intensely Ghibeline. Gino Capponi came from Florence and had interviews with the Governor, who was sadly in need of money to aid Francesco da Carrara. Gabriel Maria on his side sent word secretly to Maso degli Albizzi of Florence that he had somewhat to say unto him. Maso accordingly went fishing in the Arno at Vico Pisano, had a secret interview with Gabriel Maria, but was unable to come to terms.[2] The news of these negotiations leaked out and became known to the Pisans, who naturally wanted to have something to say as to their own disposal. Since the death of Piero Gambacorti twelve years earlier, the party of the Raspanti had been in power; but now a change ensued.[3] At this time Gabriel Maria was in possession of Pisa, and Marshal Boucicaut held Leghorn.

Ranieri Zacci, the most trusted confidant of the Signor, now turned traitor against his master, and resolved to show Florence and Italy that the Pisans had lost none of their old valour and reputation.[4] The Signor's troops were driven back into the citadel, and Gabriel Maria himself was forced to retire to Sarzana for safety. This popular rising upset the negotiations of Boucicaut. The Pisans dug a deep ditch to separate the

[1] Tartini, ii. 490.
[2] Capponi, i. 413.
[3] Capponi, i. 417.
[4] Ammirato, iv. 368.

citadel from the city, and flung heaps of ordure and filth in among the garrison; they ravaged the country round. Boucicaut managed to throw a hundred men-at-arms into the Signor's beleaguered fortress, and tried to send them provisions in a vessel. The galley and the bark were, however, stopped at the mouth of the Arno by the Pisans, who to the number of six thousand seized them, took the crews prisoners, and dragged the banner of the King of France through the mud, trampling and spitting on it.[1] This action was '*selon la generale coustome qui est au pays de delà de non eulx tenir longuement soubs une Seigneurie, quand ils se trouvent les plus forts.*'[2] It was useless for Boucicaut to reproach the Pisans with their evil conduct; they only answered him proudly.

The Florentine ambassadors now approached Gabriel Maria at Sarzana, but he told them he had just sent his mother off to Genoa to Boucicaut, and must await the governor's answer. The French Constable saw what stuff the Pisans were made of, and began to fear that the conjunction of Pisa with Genoa would make the Ghibeline party so strong that he would have difficulty in holding his own city. Genoa was much more valuable than Pisa; it would be impolitic to risk the loss of the more important city for the sake of the less; he determined to be contented with Leghorn and to give up all thought of its mother city, Pisa. He came as far as Porto Venere, where he met the Pisan envoys. They attempted to palliate their recent conduct, throwing the blame on the lower people, and offering Boucicaut himself the Signiory. When he refused they offered to become subject to the King of France, provided the citadel of Pisa and the forts of Leghorn and Librafatta were made over to them; they wanted to destroy the former and to hold the other two: in fact, they wished the King of France to be their Signor merely in name.[3] Boucicaut laughed at this absurd proposal, told them that Gabriel Maria was about to sell the Signiory to the Florentines, who did not love them, and advised them to submit themselves outright to the King of France. They replied that they would never agree to this, and the negotiations were broken off. The coast was now clear for the bargain to be

[1] Boucicaut, 327. [2] *Ibid.* 320. [3] *Ibid.* 332.

struck between Gabriel Maria, Florence, and Boucicaut. Although the Governor did not at first relish the notion of the Signiory, for which homage had been done to his master, being sold to the Florentines, still he acquiesced on the assurance that he should himself be left in undisturbed possession of the port of Leghorn. Pope Benedict, who had hope of getting the powerful Republic to acknowledge his obedience, backed the Marshal up in this determination. Boucicaut accordingly met the Florentine ambassadors at Leghorn. It was agreed that he and Gabriel Maria should make over to Florence the citadel and country of Pisa, that Boucicaut should retain Leghorn, that Gabriel Maria should hold Sarzana and one or two other small places, and that Florence should pay two thousand florins.[1] Something appears also to have been said about the spiritual side of the question. This was on the 27th August. In accordance with this treaty the Florentine Gino Capponi was put into possession of the citadel of Pisa on the 31st August 1405.

Florence held Pisa on this occasion six days exactly. The Pisans themselves had been no parties to the treaty, but they lost no time in showing that they were to be reckoned with in its execution. The citadel was strong, but the garrison was negligent; the Pisans discovered a postern gate which was weakly guarded; they entered, surprised the Florentines, laid waste the place with fire and sword, excepting only the towers which they preserved to guard the city. Florence had lost Pisa and had only herself to blame. She let slip no time in attempting to repair her loss, and the Pisans began to look about them for allies. The Florentines refused to acknowledge them except as rebels: when the Pisans attempted an embassy, they received a reply addressed to the 'Captain and Ancients of *our* city of Pisa.'[2] The Pisans sent ambassadors to King Ladislas asking him to take the city under his protection; but he had designs on Rome, and had agreed with the Florentines that he would not interfere with them if they did not interfere with him; he therefore declined the invitation of the Pisans.[3] During the early part of the winter the Florentines gained a little ground through the aid of Ludovico de' Megliorati and

[1] Boucicaut, 339. [2] Capponi, i. 417. [3] Tartini, ii. 543.

Sforza Attendolo; they also bought one or two castles from traitors, and captured a galley loaded with grain which was coming to Pisa from Sicily.

In the spring of 1406 the Florentines took the field with fifteen hundred lances, thirteen hundred foot soldiers, and other troops. They were now in earnest, and it was to be a fight to the death between them and their ancient rivals. The Pisans were on their side ready to endure everything rather than submit to hated Florence. Sforza was despatched at the end of February to capture the strong post of Crispino, five miles from Pisa; the Pisans thought to surprise him, but the condottiere general defeated them with great loss. Maso degli Albizzi and Gino Capponi took supreme command of the Florentine forces, while Giovanni Gambacorti commanded in the besieged city. The two delegates from the Ten provided an adequate commissariat for their troops by proclaiming a free market, exempt from all tolls; but the Pisans were reduced to frightful straits. A convoy of their grain ships was defeated and captured; the useless mouths, old men, women, and children, had to be turned out of the city, some of them making their way to Lucca, others perishing under the city walls, while the scarcity daily increased; inside the besieged town men ate grass and roots to sustain life. The Florentines erected two bastions below the city, one on each side of the river, which effectually stopped the entry of supplies. They attempted to join these bastions with a bridge, but in May there came a heavy rain, the river rose, the Pisans threw branches and logs into the river, and the force of the water and the rubbish was too much for the bridge, which was carried away. The Pisans rushed out joyfully, thinking to capture one bastion; but the intrepid Sforza fearlessly crossed the swollen stream in a frail bark, took command of the troops, and drove off the discomfited citizens, who got back just in time to prevent their enemies from entering with them within the walls. On the night of the 9th June an escalade was tried under a Florentine exile, Papi da Calcinaia, eager by some deed of valour to purchase his return to his beloved home; but the Pisans rushed to the wall, repulsed their assailants, and the brave exile, locked in the arms of an enemy,

fell within and was killed. His corpse next day was fastened on the back of an ass and carried round the city to encourage the besieged. Quarrels broke out in the army of the besiegers between Sforza and another condottiere general, Tartaglia, and these were with difficulty adjusted, and impeded operations.

All hope of carrying Pisa by storm was given up, and the city was straitly besieged, when one day signs of joy and bonfires were observed: the banners of the Duke of Burgundy were hung out on the towers and his arms displayed on the gates, a herald issued from the city and announced that Pisa belonged to the Duke, and that all the assailants were to depart. Boucicaut had no part in this absurd interference of the French; the Florentines were disgusted; they seized the herald, bound his hands, and threw him into the Arno. Even thus, however, the Pisans drew some advantage from the circumstance, for some of the besieging troops, fearful of offending the French, withdrew from the siege. The misery and hunger in the city, however, daily increased, and in September, Giovanni Gambacorti began to temporise. His envoys came out fasting, ate their fill, and wanted to take bread back with them. 'Eat as much as you like,' they were told, 'but you shall not take back with you enough to last you a moment longer.' Bread and flour were all exhausted; there was nothing left in Pisa but a little spice and sugar and three lean cows. Giovanni Gambacorti was obliged to capitulate. But he was not beaten; he desired to save Pisa from being sacked. Gino Capponi was ready to allow honourable terms. It was proposed that Pisa and all the fortresses should be surrendered, that the islands of Capraia, Gorgona, and Giglio should be given to Florence, and that fifty thousand florins should be paid to Giovanni Gambacorti, who was to retain the signiory of Bagno and to be received in Florence as a friend of the city, exempt from all dues and taxes. The Florentines murmured at first, but only one white bean was given against the acceptance of these proposals. Hostages were to be given to the gallant defender of Pisa for the execution of the terms. The agreement was ratified on the 8th October.[1]

On the following day the conquerors entered Pisa. Giovanni

[1] Ammirato, iv. 380 *et seq.*; Capponi, i. 419 *et seq.*

Gambacorti had kept the negotiations a secret from the citizens. He himself met the Florentine army at the gate of San Marco, delivered to Gino Capponi a dart in sign of surrender of the city, 'the most beautiful jewel of Italy,' and the keys of the city were given up. As the army made its way round the city, the men and women of Pisa, with pinched, livid faces and sunken eyes, stared at them; and when food was thrown to them they rushed at it and devoured it like beasts, so that some of them died; and the children asked if there would be anything for lunch. Pisa was spared the horrors of a sack; but a Florentine flag, which they had taken three years previously, was elevated in sign of their overthrow. Many of the most important citizens had escaped to Sicily and to Naples. Gino Capponi addressed the hunger-stricken Pisans who remained, enlarging on their many villainies toward Florence for some years past; and, after receiving their heartfelt thanks that the city was not sacked, he was elected Captain of Pisa for the next eight months. Great were the rejoicings in Florence: the acquisition of Pisa was announced to the whole of Italy; the celebrated volume of Justinian's Pandects, which the Pisans had brought from Amalfi three centuries earlier, and other venerated relics, were carried off to Florence, just as Napoleon four centuries later deported treasures to Paris.

There was peace at last between the two rival cities. The Florentines had made a solitude, and called it a peace. The wondrous buildings of Pisa, which made the city, as Giovanni Gambacorti had said, the jewel of Italy, still remained in undiminished grandeur, but the trade and navy of the city were ruined, the population was decimated, the houses were in ruins and desolate. Anything which would bring a little wealth to the place was welcome to the mercantile men of Florence. When Baldassare Cossa asked that the coming council of the cardinals should be held at Pisa, his proposition was welcomed. The Duomo was one of the wonders of the world: where could so fitting an edifice for the meeting of an œcumenical council be found? The city was divided into two parts by the river Arno: if the rival Popes appeared, they would be separated by a natural and easily defensible barrier. The vacant houses would provide accommodation

for all the prelates of Christendom. Their affluence would bring wealth and might resuscitate the city. Florence, therefore, willingly gave her consent that the coming council should be held at Pisa, and the fact that the city was Florentine reassured those who dreaded the overweening influence of the French.

The importance of the Council of Pisa in the struggle against the claims of the Popes cannot be overestimated. The Holy Roman Church is based on tradition. At the Council of Trent, more than a hundred years later, it was held that 'the traditions handed down from the Apostolic age and preserved in the Church are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inspired authors have committed to writing.'[1] The Popes trace themselves up in lineal succession through the Bishops of Rome to Saint Peter; and on Peter our Lord Himself declared that He built His Church. Hence it follows that faithfully preserved tradition is the best guarantee that the Church of Rome is really and truly the Church of Christ. Nowadays reason sets itself up in opposition to tradition. But the claims of untrammelled reason are very modern. Aforetime every one sought the support of authority. At the time of the Reformation no one thought of appealing simply to reason. By that time, and indeed for some centuries before, the tradition of the Church had for the most part hardened down into the canon law, which was the great depository of the rulings of the Popes, even as the Pope himself was the visible representative of divine authority and the only safe continuator of tradition and of sacred law. The revolt of Luther against the Papacy was little else than the conflict of the Bible with the canon law; the Protestants did not appeal to reason against the traditions of the Fathers, they appealed to the Bible, to the Word of God. But at the beginning of the fifteenth century, in the days of the Council of Pisa, the time was not yet ripe for such an appeal to the Inspired Word; the reading of the Bible was still prohibited to the multitude.[2] But the manifold corruption of the Church, and the loss of respect for its Head engendered by the Great Schism, brought about a revolt against authority as em-

[1] Robertson, *Charles the Fifth*, ii. 160. [2] Hefele, vi. 984.

bodied in the Pope. The great councils were convoked, among other reasons, to reform the Church in its Head and its members; and the great councils set themselves up above the Pope and claimed an authority superior to his. They failed to work a reform in the Church, so that the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation became necessary; but they broke in on the authority of the Pope and tarnished the divinity which hedged him round; and thus they made the work easier for the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century. Premonitions of the appeal to the Bible as the ultimate standard of orthodoxy are contained in the revolt of the Theological Faculty of the University of Paris and in their endeavour to set themselves up above the canon lawyers; it is this which renders the works of Jean Gerson of such supreme importance at this period. It was by such arguments as he and his old tutor, Pierre d'Ailly, adduced that the existence of the Council of Pisa could most readily and successfully be justified; for that Council proceeded on the assumptions which the Councils of Constance and Basel subsequently formulated. The great importance of the Council of Pisa lies in the fact that it was a patent revolt against the authority of the Pope; it did not set up the standard of reason against tradition, but nevertheless it constituted a revolt against that supreme authority which every good Christian had hitherto recognised. It was in this way a decisive step toward the emancipation of the intellect of man from the so-called trammels of authority and tradition. The rise of the conciliar spirit has been well and clearly explained by an American writer. He says:—'A group of earnest and able men, of whom John Gerson of the University of Paris is the best known, began to advance ideas which, though they broke with the special form which the unity of the Church had been assuming in the headship of the Pope, did not break with the real spirit of that unity, and which consequently furnished a more solid doctrinal foundation for their plan of reformation than was possible for the wilder ideas of others, and commanded general approval for it. According to these theories the Church universal is superior to the Pope. It may elect him if the cardinals fail to do so; it may depose one whom the cardinals have elected. The

Pope is an officer of the Church, and, if he abuses his office, he may be treated as an enemy, as a temporal prince would be in a similar case. The highest expression of the unity and power of this Church universal is a General Council. This is superior to the Pope, may meet legitimately without his summons, and he must obey its decisions. The first attempt to carry into practice the appeal from the Pope to a General Council, and so to end the Schism, was in the Council of Pisa.'[1]

When the clergy from the principal countries of Europe began to assemble at Pisa, the city had not yet recovered from that fearful baptism of fire, in which 'almost every house had been smashed or riddled with gun-stones hurled from bombards and catapults and the place had been brought to wellnigh total ruin';[2] but still it afforded great convenience for visitors. 'In the city,' said the Abbé of Saint-Maxence in a letter to the Bishop of Poitiers, dated the 4th May 1409, 'there is great abundance of provisions, which are sold at tolerably reasonable prices, and would be still cheaper were it not for the duties levied on them. And in my opinion the city of Pisa is one of the notable cities of the world: there is a river running through it, which debouches in the sea at a league distance; and by this river great ships bringing wealth of all kinds can come to the city; and all round are vines, wheat, and a large number of meadows. We are right well lodged. There are, moreover, a large number of men-at-arms present for the preservation of the said town which the Florentines have taken by force of arms from the Pisans; and these same Florentines have transported a great number out of Pisa, so as to prevent any treason, and they are now in Florence to the number of two thousand, and they have to show themselves twice a day at a certain fixed place to the governors of Florence, on pain of losing their lives.'[3] Four or five thousand Pisans had joined Ladislas of Naples, so that there was plenty of accommodation, notwithstanding the Florentines' garrison, for rebuilding had gone on apace. Still it was evident that the resources of the city would be taxed to the uttermost. 'Lodgings were bespoken at Pisa, as a great

[1] Adams, *Civilisation during the Middle Ages*, 404.
[2] Wylie, iii. 372.
[3] Monstrelet, 153.

multitude of visitors was expected, and it was a question of sending on provisions beforehand, in view of the certainty of serious scarcity.'[1]

The assemblage of representatives of the lay and the spiritual worlds at Pisa was indeed imposing. The Kings of England, France, Bohemia, Poland, Portugal, and Cyprus were represented; so too were the Dukes of Burgundy, Brabant, and Anjou, of Austria, Lorraine, and Holland, and the two Dukes of Bavaria; the Count of Savoy, the Marquess of Este, the Markgraf of Brandenburg, the Landgraf of Thuringia, and many other German lords and princes. In fact, as the Canons of Linkoeping said later in the year, with the exception of the Scandinavian countries, almost every kingdom of Christendom sent its ambassadors to Pisa.[2] There were, however, some notable monarchs and other personages who were not represented at the Council of Pisa. Many were late in appearing; even the King of France was at first only represented by the Bishop of Meaux, the King of Sicily, Louis of Anjou, by the Bishop of Gap, and the King of England by a cavalier, a doctor and a clerk who had come straight from the Diet at Frankfurt.[3]

The ecclesiastics came in throngs. There were eighteen cardinals in Pisa on the day before the Council opened.[4] Four patriarchs attended, the foremost being Simon de Cramaud, Patriarch of Alexandria. Ten archbishops were present, seven of them being Frenchmen;[5] and twelve others sent their deputies or proctors, among these being the Electors of Cologne and Mainz, and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. Guy de Roye, the Archbishop of Reims, had also meant to be there. He was an ardent supporter of Pope Benedict, had protested against the subtraction of obedience, and had had his temporalities seized rather than subscribe to the half-tenth levied on the clergy. Had he reached Pisa he was like to have disturbed the unanimity of the Council. He set out with the Cardinal de Bar, the cousin of the King of France, and the two arrived within two days' journey of Genoa. At Voltri, however, a

[1] Wylie, iii. 361. [2] Valois, iv. 76, note. [3] *Religieux*, iv. 208.
[4] Mansi, xxvii. 331. [5] Lenfant, i. 352.

dispute arose between the village farrier and one of their suite, and the farrier was killed. The villagers immediately rose in wrath and put the murderer to death; they rushed to the Cardinal's hotel and massacred five more of his men; they were about to pursue their vengeance further, when the Archbishop appeared at one of the windows and tried with fair words to calm their passion; but an arrow pierced his heart, and he fell back without uttering another word. The men of Voltri were on the point of firing the house, meaning to burn all therein, when a courier of the Governor of Genoa appeared on the scene and stopped the *émeute*. Boucicaut buried the Archbishop in Genoa, put to death all who had taken part in the rising, and levelled the hotel with the ground.[1]

Seventy bishops were at the Council, and eighty more were represented. The heads of seventy monasteries were present in person, and one hundred and twenty appeared by deputy.[2] Minerbetti gives the number of abbots as three hundred, and adds that there were two hundred masters of theology.[3] The generals of the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians, were flanked by the Grand Master of Rhodes, the Prior General of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Procurer General of the Teutonic Knights. The Universities of France, Italy, England, and the Holy Roman Empire were all represented. More than five hundred ecclesiastics were present at the council at the beginning of June,[4] and of these at least one-third or two-fifths were Frenchmen.[5] As they assembled for the opening day, the question most anxiously debated by those who had the success of the Council at heart was the attitude of the rival pontiffs. Would they recognise the council? Would they appear, or would they send proctors? Would these proctors be fully empowered? These were the questions the resolution of which had much to do with the termination of the Great Schism, and therefore with the success or failure of the Council of Pisa.

Jean Gerson was unable to attend the Council of Pisa. He was the Chancellor of the University of Paris, he was Professor of Theology, he was Curé of Saint-Jean-en-Grève: his manifold

[1] *Religieux*, iv. 206. [2] Lenfant, i. 353 *et seq.* [3] Tartini, ii. 605.
[4] Finke, 283. [5] Valois, iv. 77.

duties detained him. But he had thrown himself heart and soul into the movement. His work on the Unity of the Church has already been mentioned. When the English embassy, with Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, at its head, passed through Paris on their way to Pisa, Gerson harangued them on the text: 'Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land: for great shall be the day of Jezreel.' He dwelt on his old theme, that there was one head to the Church, even Christ; he reminded them of the efforts in behalf of a council made by the Universities of Paris and Oxford, by Henry of Langenstein of blessed memory, and by the great and devout Conrad of Gelnhausen; he enumerated instances in which it was permissible to depose a Pope, those which had been given by Pierre d'Ailly in his New Year's Day sermon; he was earnest that the work should have a permanent and not a mere temporary effect.[1] His chief assistance to the Council was given, however, by his tractate on its power of deposition, '*De auferibilitate Papae ab Ecclesia.*' The argument in this was even more pronounced than heretofore. Christ is the Head, the Bridegroom of the Church; His Spirit, the Holy Ghost, is her life; therefore Christ and the Church are inseparable. But it is otherwise with Christ's earthly representative, the Pope, who is not inseparable from the Church; he may resign as Clement the Fifth had done; his vows are of no effect, his marriage with the Church becomes a nullity if it stands in the way of her salvation; the welfare of the Church, her peace and unity, are the infallible touchstone. Churchly offices and priestly dignities are but ordained for the good of the Church; and just as the Pope can separate himself from the Church, so can the Church separate herself from the Pope. The occasions which justify such separation are those which he and Pierre d'Ailly had before pointed out. Shall a private person be entitled to defend himself from the Pope who attacks his life or chastity, shall he be free to throw the Pope into the river in such a case, and shall the same right be denied to the Church itself? According to Aristotle, every free community has the

[1] Schwab, 226.

right to indicate to its prince the path in which he should tread, and if he refuses to walk therein, it can depose him; and shall not the same right inhere in the Church, before which even Peter justified himself? The Church, or the council representing the Church, has the right to judge, and her judgment is authoritative, the heretic or schismatic loses his office by reason of her judgment, even though he be not really heretic or schismatic; the canon law has provided for such cases; the Church judges by the outward signs, and judges not by the hearts of men. Therefore he who is suspected, and neglects to appear and defend himself, may rightly be condemned; and the same right of condemnation exists where the cardinals are unable to satisfy the Church who is the canonically elected Pope. This is the case in the present Schism, and justifies the measures taken against both Popes. The Church to be perfect, says Gerson in conclusion, needs one Pope as Christ's representative; the Council of Pisa has assembled under divine inspiration; it has sufficient authority to depose both existing Popes; it can proceed to elect a third, who shall be the indubitable Pope to be acknowledged and obeyed by all.[1] If there were a risk of such universal recognition not following, then Gerson counselled the abandonment of any new election, and the determination to recognise in the future as sole Pope whichever of the two present rivals should outlive the other. They were both old men: the Great Schism had already lasted thirty years; the further delay could not be long.

The council, however, was in no mood for any such half-hearted conciliatory scheme; they were ready to follow the bolder measure; they neglected the warning. Those who met at Pisa had resolved beforehand what they were to do. Neutrality reigned through the greater part of Italy; even in Rome the Senator had forbidden the citizens to mention the name of Gregory at the Feast of the Assumption. 'The Synod of Pisa, says the German historian, 'according to Catholic principles, was from the outset an act of open revolt against the Pope. That such an essentially revolutionary assembly should decree itself competent to re-establish order, and was able to command

[1] Schwab, 250-56.

so much consideration, was only rendered possible by the eclipse of the Catholic doctrine regarding the primacy of Saint Peter and the monarchical constitution of the Church, occasioned by the Schism.'[1] 'The Fathers at Pisa,' says the French historian of the Great Schism, 'had in reality only one principle of action, and that for a good reason; with certain exceptions, those alone had answered the appeal of the cardinals who were resolved to follow them.'[2]

The council had been convoked for Lady Day; and accordingly on the morning of the 25th March 1409 the Fathers met at the Church of Saint Martin,[3] the large square church near the water fountain, south of the Arno. Here, arrayed in their albs and copes and crowned with white mitres, the cardinals and prelates then in Pisa formed into procession, and solemnly wended their way across the wooden bridge, the Ponte Vecchio, which had been renewed twenty-five years before,[4] and which stood where the Ponte Mezzo now spans the rushing yellow Arno. It was a very different procession from that which the Pisans had wonderingly seen pass over the same bridge two and a half years earlier, when the Florentine troops to their amazement entered the city which had been conquered by famine but not by foe. The route of the procession brought them close to the Borgo, the busiest part of the city; they passed the flat-roofed basilica of San Michele with its strange Gothic façade, and continued their way along the Via del Borgo, until they turned off to the Piazza degli Anziani. Facing them, as they entered the Piazza, stood the '*orribile torre*,' that ill-famed Tower of Hunger in which Count Ugolino had been a hundred and twenty years earlier immured and starved to death by the Ghibeline Archbishop.

'Breve pertugio dentro dalla muda,
La qual per me ha il titol della Fame.'[5]

Crossing the square diagonally, the procession passed the little Romanesque Church of San Sisto, an unpretentious little

[1] Pastor, i. 178.
[2] Valois, iv. 80.
[3] Monstrelet, 150.
[4] *A.S.I.* vi. 934.
[5] Dante, *Inf.* xxxiii. 22.

edifice in which some of the less important meetings of the council were to be held; and then, skirting the Archbishop's Palace, they reached that marvellous north-west corner of the city where are grouped those four buildings which are the pride of Pisa and the envy of other cities. The Cathedral had been consecrated nearly three hundred years before, but its bell-tower had been completed only in 1350; it was a century and a half since Nicolo Pisano had executed the sculptures of the men struggling with demons on the baptistery pulpit; more than two centuries had elapsed since Archbishop Ubaldo de' Lanfranchi had brought fifty-three ship-loads of earth from Jerusalem to the Campo Santo that the Pisans might rest in holy ground. The Cathedral at Pisa 'is the noblest monument which Christendom contains of the aspirations and activity of the mediæval Church. Nowhere is a more vivid impression gained of the magnificent sobriety and earnestness of the Italian citizens than when first the Cathedral of Pisa strikes upon the eye. Away from the Arno, with its throng of ships and noise of sailors, away from the Exchange where merchants congregate, away from the Piazza where the people meet to manage the affairs of their city, away at the extremest verge of the city, where there is nought that can hinder the full force of their impressiveness, the Pisans raised the noble buildings which tell the sincerity of their piety and the greatness of their municipal life. The stately simplicity of the vast basilica, which was consecrated in 1118, shows how the rich fancy of the Lombards enriched without destroying the purity and severity of the Roman forms. The graceful proportions of the baptistery, which was begun in 1153, testify the increased freedom of handling among the Pisan architects; and the Campanile is a memorial of their determined spirit and joyous resoluteness in facing unforeseen difficulties. The exquisite Gothic cloister of Giovanni Pisano surrounding the peaceful burying-ground of their forefathers, tells of the poetic seriousness of the Pisan people and the freshness of their architects to receive new impulses.'[1] In the foregoing words has the English Church historian described the scene which burst on the

[1] Creighton, i. 235.

view of the great procession as it approached the Cathedral on Lady Day 1409.

Due preparations for the vast assemblage had been made in the Cathedral. On a long seat, on the level of the great altar and in front of the choir, sat the Cardinal-Bishops, facing the nave, with Guy de Maillesec, the old Bishop of Poitiers, and Cardinal of Palestrina, at their head: he had been raised to the college by Gregory the Eleventh before the Great Schism began. The Cardinal-Priests sat on their right, the senior being the Cardinal de Thury. Some 'domestic prophet' had foretold to this Burgundian cardinal that he would one day be Pope: at the death of Clement the Seventh he had tried a little judicious bribery; and now again he was lavish of his wine and gifts to the other cardinals, but he got little by it. If he could have driven Pope Benedict to resign he would have had a better chance of election in France than here in Pisa, where he failed to appreciate the influence of Cardinal Baldassare Cossa. On the left of the choir sat the Cardinal-Deacons, their senior being the Cardinal de Saluces, who had been raised to the purple in 1383, and who at the death of Pope Clement had proposed to end the Schism by the universal recognition of Boniface the Ninth. Behind the cardinals as they sat in solemn conclave was the great picture of Christ painted by Cimabue. At the sides were benches for the protonotaries of the sacred palace, employed in taking minutes of the proceedings. Facing the cardinals was the seat appropriated to the royal ambassadors who were prelates; and behind them, on both sides of the nave, glorious with its layers of black and white marble, were the seats reaching down to the door of the church, for the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, in due order of seniority; while stools were provided for the envoys from chapters and convents. Fair benches (*scamna bene honesta*), but on a rather lower level, were set apart for knights, doctors, and those ambassadors who were not prelates. Every effort had been made to secure to those present their proper seats, but a notary gave warning that any failure in this respect would entail no prejudice in the future.[1]

When all had taken their places, the Mass of the Holy

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 116; *Religieux*, iv. 208.

Spirit was celebrated by the aged Cardinal of Palestrina, and a sermon, introductory to the business of the council, was preached by a Master of Theology; after which, it being the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, nothing more was done. The council had been regularly opened; the first general session for business was appointed for the morrow.

# CHAPTER X

## THE WAY OF A COUNCIL

The first meeting of the Council of Pisa had been an occasion of ceremonial devotion; the second meeting, or first general session, was allotted mainly to the preparatory arrangements necessary for its work.

The opening Mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated by the Cardinal of Palestrina in long cope (*pluviale*) and white mitre, but without his chasuble or sandals; the other cardinals, the bishops, and abbots remained standing the while; when it was finished they donned their surplices, copes, and mitres, and took their places. Then followed the sermon. The preacher was noteworthy, and his text remarkable. Pietro Filargi was a citizen of Bologna of low birth; he had once been a beggar boy in Crete, and had been picked up by a Venetian Cordelier, who noted his happy disposition, took him back to Venice, and made him enter the Order of the Franciscans. He was educated by the friars, was sent to Pavia, Norwich, Oxford, and afterwards to Paris, where he read theology and was accounted one of the most brilliant stars of the University; then he went to Candia again and remained in the island some time, so that he became known as the Candiot. After this he went to Lombardy and became the leading member of the council of the Duke Gian Galeazzo, was tutor to his son, and finally Archbishop of Milan. He had been created Cardinal-Priest 'of the Twelve Apostles' by Innocent the Seventh in June 1405. He knew men and manners, and must have been a strong and able man to win the confidence of the Duke of Milan. He was kind-hearted, fond of strong wine, did not pretend to any degree of austerity, and knew very little of the business of the Consistory. He was profusely liberal, so that, as he said later, he had been a rich bishop, a poor cardinal, and

was a mere beggar as Pope.[1] He was, moreover, a great friend of Baldassare Cossa, whom he admired and implicitly trusted. As his text before the council he took the words, '*Adestis omnes filii Israel; decernite quid facere debeatis*' ('Behold, ye Children of Israel, all of you, give here your advice and counsel'). The words had been addressed by the Levite, whose concubine had been killed, to the Israelites, calling on them for vengeance on the children of Benjamin. Filargi, however, did not refer to this, but assured his listeners that, short of a council, nothing but a miracle could heal the accursed Schism. It was the general opinion of everybody. The sermon being over, all present donned their silk copes and white mitres, and the cardinal who had celebrated Mass moved to the altar, where the chalice and paten were prepared, while antiphonies were meantime sung. Then the officiating deacon called out '*Orate*,' and all the prelates knelt, with their heads to the ground and their mitres before them, for the space of a *Miserere*. The deacon and sub-deacon then read the Litany, to which all, still kneeling, responded. After a prayer from the Cardinal of Palestrina, they rose. On this the Cardinal de Saluces, habited as a deacon, read the Gospel; the *Veni Creator* was sung by the whole assembly kneeling; the officiating deacon called on them to rise; and they, putting on their mitres, took their seats.[2] The business of the council then began.

The Archbishop of Pisa, Alaman Adimar, mounted the chancel and read the preliminary decrees, namely the Confession of Faith of Pope Gregory the Tenth, the Decree of the Synod of Toledo of the year 675, enjoining peace and order during a council, and the Declaration that the present council believed and taught according to the faith and teaching of Holy Church. The Cardinal of Palestrina then addressed them concerning the election of officers. Six notaries, four proctors, and two advocates were then elected, and swore duly to perform their respective functions. One of the notaries, Simon of Perugia, then addressed the council, and demanded that the letters of convocation issued by both colleges be now read, together with the invitations to the rival pontiffs, and the proofs of their execution. This was done by an English

[1] Ghirar, ii. 576; Lenfant, i. 286; Wylie, iii. 380. [2] Mansi, xxvii. 117.

doctor who was secretary to the Council: he read the invitation to Pope Gregory and the note of its execution at Siena; then the invitation to Pope Benedict and the return of execution thereto, with the answer of the Pope and of the three cardinals who had gone with him from Porto Venere to Perpignan. One of the proctors on this demanded that they should be declared contumacious; on which the presiding cardinal deputed two cardinal-deacons, two archbishops, and two bishops to ascertain whether they were present. Accompanied by the notaries, they proceeded to the doors of the Cathedral and called on Petrus de Luna and Angelus Corrario, in Latin and in the vulgar, to appear either in person or by their fully empowered proctors. The call was made three times without result. The request that they be proclaimed contumacious was then repeated; the President answered that the request was good, but that the call to appear should be repeated on the morrow. The session then terminated.[1]

At the second general session the two rival Popes, Petrus de Luna, called Benedict the Thirteenth, and Angelus Corrario, called Gregory the Twelfth, were again summoned to appear, and on their default application was made that they and their recusant cardinals be declared contumacious. As there was a certain difference of opinion, a special session was held next day to discuss the legal points. The third general session was held on the 30th March; and as the rival Popes and their cardinals still made default, the two Popes were then declared contumacious. The next session was appointed for the 15th April, and grace until that date was given to the cardinals to appear. The council did not recognise any recent creations: the four who had not as yet come to Pisa, but whom it was willing to admit within the period of grace, were the Cardinal of Todi of the obedience of Gregory, and the Cardinals Chalant, Flesco, and Flandrin of the obedience of Benedict.[2] The notice calling on the cardinals to attend was posted on the doors of the Cathedral.

The reason for the lengthy prorogation was that Easter intervened. The services for this holy season were held at the

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 118; Hefele, vi. 995.

[2] Mansi, xxvii. 121, 359; Hefele, vi. 996.

Church of Saint Martin. A Franciscan bishop preached on Black Thursday; an English doctor, Richard by name, on Good Friday; and on Easter Sunday the sermon was given by the Franciscan Vitalis. Meanwhile fresh arrivals were plentiful. Leonardo of Arezzo wrote on the 3rd April that the attendance was very numerous: 'things are better arranged,' says he, 'than one would have expected. So many people, and persons of distinction, arrive daily that Pisa will hardly be able to contain them. Nothing can equal the vigilance and humanity of the Fathers. The English bishops with the Cardinal of Bordeaux are expected.'[1] This cardinal was Francesco Uguccione of Urbino, a learned lawyer who had been created cardinal by Innocent the Seventh, and who had been for twenty years Archbishop of Bordeaux. He was one of the first to revolt from Gregory. 'On September 10th he was with the cardinals at Pisa, but before the end of the same month he travelled to Paris, where he had repeated conferences with the French Council, and being an active man and a ready speaker, in spite of his great age, he did his best to bring about an understanding between France and England for common purposes. Accompanied by his secretary, the saintly herd-boy Pey Berland, . . . he crossed the Channel from Calais, and arrived in England about the beginning of November 1408, bringing with him a letter addressed to Archbishop Arundel from the Patriarch Simon de Cramaud and many archbishops, bishops, and abbots assembled in Paris.'[2] He was now expected in Pisa with the English prelates, both archbishops, five bishops, and others, but they did not arrive till the 7th May.[3] The Abbé de Saint-Maxence, in a letter to the Bishop of Poitiers, says that there were at this time in Pisa a hundred and fifty prelates in copes and mitres, besides other abbots who were not mitred.[4] The city was fast filling. But the most important personages who arrived in this interval were the envoys from Rupert, King of the Romans, and Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini.

On the 26th July 1408 the cardinals had written from Leghorn to King Rupert, informing him that they meant to convoke a general council; they had subsequently

[1] Lenfant, i. 248. [2] Wylie, iii. 364. [3] Mansi, xxvii. 348. [4] Monstrelet, 153.

told him that it was to be held at Pisa on Lady Day 1409. The King, however, considered himself bound in honour not to desert Pope Gregory. He knew that it was from fear of Baldassare Cossa and the Florentines that Gregory had declined to go to Savona; he knew that the Venetians had fallen off from him because he would not promote the nephew of their Doge, Michele Steno, to be their bishop; he felt that if he himself abandoned Pope Gregory he would be in that invidious position against which his father had warned King Wenzel. Above all else, he was convinced that the action of the cardinals would not further the real welfare of the Church, but would result in a threefold, instead of a two-fold, Schism. He therefore determined to send an embassy to Pisa to represent his views, and he selected for this purpose Archbishop John of Riga, the Bishops Matthew of Worms and Ulrich of Verden, the Protonotary John of Weinheim and Master Conrad of Soest. The Council of Pisa, through the intervention of the Cardinals of Milan and Bari, had decided to recognise Wenzel as King of the Romans. Rupert, on his part, did not recognise the council as a genuine œcumenical council; and this may have been the reason why his ambassadors did not wear their dalmatics, so that they could not sit with the other prelates and ambassadors.[1]

The fourth general session was opened on the 15th April with the usual solemnities; and after the Litany, Master Conrad of Soest appeared and craved an audience for the envoys of King Rupert. On permission being granted, the Bishop of Verden went to the bishop's seat, and taking as his text the words *Pax Vobis* he commenced his harangue. He complained of the want of accuracy and formality in the subtraction of obedience by the cardinals, and of their presuming to call a council without consulting the King of the Romans, and in derogation of the right of the Pope who had already called a council of his own; and he dilated on the inaccuracies which their post-dating the invitations had produced. They had no right to order the faithful to disobey their Pope; they had no right, even in the cause of union, to subtract their own obedience, doing evil on the pretext that

[1] *Religieux*, iv. 216.

good might come. The cardinals had no right, ordinary or delegated, to call a council; the assemblage which they have convened has no right to such a title. They have, moreover, determined beforehand what the Holy Spirit is to move them to do; and the term which they have fixed is too short to allow of all those of Gregory's obedience appearing. It is absurd to stigmatise all those who remain true to their Pope as fautors of Schism. The more important points of the bishop's discourse were those which dealt with Pope Gregory himself. Either he was Pope or he was not: if he was Pope, then they were bound to obey him; if he were not Pope, then the question arose, when had he ceased to be Pope, seeing that he had never resigned nor been condemned by the Church Universal for heresy or any such sin. If his cardinals doubted his position, the same doubts must attach to the positions of Innocent the Seventh, of Boniface the Ninth, of Urban the Sixth; nay, the same doubts must attach to their own standing as cardinals. Pope Gregory is not called on to appear before the Council of Pisa, which is composed in the main of those who acknowledge the opposite obedience, and in which those of Gregory's obedience are his enemies; and how can enemies be judges? If he were to come to Pisa and to resign, then would Benedict, if he did not resign, become sole Pope; but if Benedict resign not, then is not Gregory called upon to resign. In conclusion, in the name of King Rupert whose right they had usurped, the bishop proposed that the cardinals should convene with Pope Gregory at a place agreeable to them both, at which the Pope should do all that he had promised at his election; if he refused, the King would back up the cardinals in their choice of a new Pope.[1] The sermon was illogical enough, contesting the right of the cardinals to convoke a council at one time, and acknowledging it at another; the objections taken were, says the Monk of Saint-Denys, full of chicanery; they were, says Creighton, 'of a narrow and technical character, mostly founded on an acute criticism of the terms of the summons to the council, and difficulties concerning its dates.'[2]

[1] Hoefler, 433 *et seq.*; Hefele, vi. 998-1000.

[2] *Religieux*, iv. 216; Creighton, i. 242.

This sermon on the text of Peace was a declaration of open war, a sowing of discord. It was the first bit of opposition which the council had as yet encountered. The Holy Fathers were not prepared to reply on the spot to this burst of eloquence so full, as it seemed to them, of damnable heresy and iteration; they requested the orator to withdraw while they consulted together; and on his readmittance they asked him to give them in writing a list of the King's objections, that they might consider and answer them. The Bishop at first demurred, but eventually agreed; and the list, under twenty-four heads, was delivered next day at a special session appointed for the purpose and held at the Church of Saint Martin,[1] and a commission was appointed to consider and to answer them. Having thus got rid of the obstructive Teutons for the nonce, the council proceeded with its business. The rival Popes and the four cardinals were again summoned, and again the answer was returned that they were not present; but further grace was given to the cardinals as it was known that many who desired to take part in the council had not been able as yet to reach Pisa. The next session was appointed for the 24th.

Before this day arrived the German embassy had departed. While they were in the Cathedral on the 15th their grooms quarrelled with those outside, and the ambassadors, when they came out protesting against the Council, took part in the disturbance and increased the scandal. After the special session Conrad of Soest posted on the doors of the Cathedral a protest, containing the points of objection, setting forth the right of the King of the Romans alone to call a general council, and stigmatising the Council of Pisa as a mere *conciliabulum*. Having thus launched this *brutum fulmen*, the German embassy early on the 21st April, secretly, without intimation to any of their intention, without taking leave of any cardinal, stole away from Pisa, a laughing-stock to all: they were described by a countryman of their own as '*derisi et quasi fatui et juris ignari communiter reputati.*' That same day—it was a Sunday—a Franciscan bishop preached, appropriately enough, on the text '*Mercenarius fugit*' ('The

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 123, 362.

hireling fleeth').[1] Although they had fled like thieves in the night, the council determined that their protest should be answered, and committed the task to a learned doctor of Bologna, Petrus de Anchorano, whose report was subsequently read at the seventh session: it was very voluminous and learned, filling twenty-eight columns of Mansi.[2]

Meanwhile in Quasimodo week there had come to Pisa Carlo Malatesta, handsome, learned, eloquent and liberal, the best and most loyal of his race.[3] He was the consistent partisan and last refuge of Pope Gregory whom he was at this time sheltering in one of his castles; he had come to Pisa to try if he could make terms between his friend and the cardinals. The Lord of Rimini was at this present just forty years of age;[4] he had won fair renown in the arts alike of peace and of war: so charmed had Gian Galeazzo of Milan been with him aforetime that he had appointed him tutor to his sons. Carlo Malatesta hated men of commerce, but loved men of letters; he was admirably qualified to treat with the cardinals, for he could bandy a jest as well as an argument; he was a man of affairs as well as an orator.[5] The Cardinals de Thury and Brancacio of the obedience of Benedict, and those of Milan and Aquileia of the obedience of Gregory, were appointed to confer with him; his old friend, Baldassare Cossa, was still on the warpath against King Ladislas of Naples, and had not been able to reach Pisa as yet.

Carlo Malatesta—or rather his orator, for a long sermon was first delivered on the text '*Honora Matrem tuam*'—set before the cardinals all that he had done in the cause of unity. He mentioned that the Cardinal Legate of Bologna had urged him to work the good work, but that he had found it impossible to persuade Gregory to come to Pisa, for he would have none of Pisa, '*Pisas dominus Gregorius omnino respuit*'; now he wished to persuade the council to adjourn to some other time and place where Gregory could meet them; he suggested Bologna, Forli, or Mantua; he would not propose Rimini, although it was as safe as any.[6] The

[1] *De Schismate*, 301; *Religieux*, iv. 218; Christophe, iii. 306.
[2] Mansi, xxvii. 367-94. [3] Monstrelet, 151; Yriarte, 46.
[4] *Biog. Univ.* xxvi. 326. [5] Lenfant, i. 259. [6] Mansi, xxvii. 226 *et seq.*

cardinals defended their choice: it was necessary that a council should meet, for both Popes disregarded their vows and promises and were playing with Christendom; in fact Malatesta himself had admitted to Cardinal Filargi that it was necessary that a general council should be convoked by the cardinals. As to the place, both Popes had formerly recommended Pisa, which was both convenient, secure, and accessible. The council is now opened, and the cardinals have no right to change the venue, having regard to those who are already present and to those who are on their road. The Lord of Rimini himself, they suggested, might work effectually for the peace of the Church by prevailing on Pope Gregory to come to Pisa. Carlo Malatesta answered that Benedict had certainly agreed to Pisa, but on conditions which were not fulfilled, while Gregory's relations to Florence had so altered that any place in their dominions must needs be obnoxious to him. He would not argue whether the present council was œcumenical or not; but he thought that if the cardinals agreed to a change of venue, no one else would dispute their decision. The main object after all was the union of the Church, not any particular place; and those who were too poor to bear the expense of removing could be helped from the Apostolic treasury; he hoped that the cardinals would reflect carefully over the matter, and not act in the spirit of contention. Gregory was ready to do even more than he was bound to; therefore let not the cardinals, let not the Cardinal of Milan, through hate or revenge, prosecute Christ in the person of His representative, in the person of him whom they had themselves chosen as the successor of Saint Peter. He warned them, as King Rupert had warned them before, that the path they were now treading led not to unity in the Church, but to trinity. Carlo Malatesta was doubtless aware of the dread in Italy lest an Ultramontane, or possibly a German, might be chosen by the council as Pope; he knew of the influence of Cardinal Baldassare Cossa, and of his friendship for the Cardinal of Milan, and hence probably his reference to Filargi.[1] In reply the cardinals confronted Malatesta with the alternatives

[1] Hoefler, 440.

that Gregory should either come to Pisa or that he should resign at Rimini in presence of a deputation whom they would send there for the purpose. They endeavoured to persuade the Lord of Rimini that there would come great glory to his city through the resignation, and that, resignation being equivalent to death of a Pope, the election of the new Pope must also be held at Rimini. But to this specious argument Carlo Malatesta merely replied that he desired fame neither for himself nor his State, but simply the weal of the Church.[1]

Their first conference having been thus fruitless, the cardinals sent the eloquent Bishop of Cambrai to argue with the learned Lord of Rimini. Pierre d'Ailly had just reached Pisa, having started from Paris with the Cardinal of Bari and the unlucky Archbishop of Reims.[2] Together with the Archbishop of Pisa and two others he waited on Carlo Malatesta at his dwelling, and endeavoured to persuade him that he ought to prevail on Gregory to submit, and that the proposal to change the place of the council's meeting was utterly wrong and could only hinder the work of unity. Arguments of all kinds were introduced, and a long conversation ensued. Malatesta assured the deputies that, if only the Council met as he proposed, then Gregory would do whatever was required and would resign if Benedict did the like. Pisa had been chosen simply to please the Florentines, whom neither Carlo Malatesta nor Gregory loved or trusted. He told them that as he came through Florence he had talked with the Priors of the Arts, and had said to them, 'My worthy lords and gentlemen, it appears to me that your city wants Holy Church to elect herself a new Pastor in order to minister to your necessities, and I doubt whether you ought not in honour to change your proposal.'[3]

While they were still conferring, a message came from the four cardinals saying that they were awaiting Malatesta at the house of the Cardinal of Aquileia. He mounted his horse and rode off thither, to be met with the excuse that they had not known he was engaged with the deputies. A fresh con-

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 268. [2] Hefele, vi. 1004; Tschackert, 156, note.
[3] Mansi, xxvii. 276.

ference took place between the four cardinals and four deputies on the one side and Carlo Malatesta on the other. The lords cardinals were getting heated and impatient. Cardinals Brancacio and De Thury pointed out how irrational it was now to want the place of meeting changed, and Malatesta gave up all hope of effecting his purpose. They all rose.

The Lord of Rimini was leaving, when Cardinal Filargi stopped him and said, 'The Lord Gregory and I have lived together and are old friends; I ask you, therefore, to say to him from me that, now we are old, we ought to think of the salvation of our souls. Let us lay aside these dignities which profit rather to vanity than to salvation; let him resign his papacy and I will resign my cardinalship; let us go to Saint Nicolas on the Lido and serve God there.' He joined his hands and added, 'I beseech you, Charles, say this much from me.' But Carlo Malatesta did not trust the man who, like himself, had been tutor under that wily old fox, the Duke of Milan. The Pope and the Cardinal might indeed have been

> 'friends in youth;
> But whispering tongues can poison truth,
> And constancy lives in realms above,'

and not necessarily, so Malatesta suspected, in the breast of Pietro Filargi, the devoted friend and adherent of the old Pope's worst and strongest enemy, Baldassare Cossa. There were some who took Filargi for a mighty theologian and prophet, '*summum theologum summumque prophetam*,'[1] but to Carlo Malatesta he was a cardinal with clerical frailties, vaulting ambition among the rest. 'Your words sound fair, my lord,' said he, 'but since Gregory is willing to resign the papacy and does not ask you to give up your cardinalship nor to follow him into a monastery, why not accompany him to some secure place in which he may resign, you may remain cardinal, and the true union and sacred peace of Holy Church may be attained?' 'He will never resign,' replied Filargi; 'he who has once sat in the papal seat counts it too sweet ever to relinquish save on compulsion.' 'Why then blame him for his trifling delay?' rejoined Malatesta. 'Is he that has tasted of the repast less likely to hasten than he that has never

[1] Brieger, xxviii. 196.

partaken? You know not as yet whether he will resign or not; if he do, then you have your desire; if he fail, then will all Christendom be witness of his error.' More also he said. The one man believed in Gregory, the other did not; moreover, Filargi detected some hidden significance in the other's words, and imagined that he was taunting him with being himself in love with the papal throne. 'You are talking at me,' said he, 'but, thanks be to God, little care I for the papacy. Let who will be Pope, provided the Church is united, I reck not at all; though, so far as in me lies, I would choose a worthy shepherd for the flock.' Carlo Malatesta, sad at heart, laughed bitterly, and said jestingly to the others present, 'Think you, my lords, that the Cardinal of Milan would willingly ascend the papal throne?' And when all laughed at his question, he continued, 'Truly I am of the same opinion as you all are.'[1] So speaking he returned to his dwelling, and thus ended the last real attempt to reconcile Gregory and the cardinals.

The Pope, as already narrated, subsequently held his own little council at Cividale. The cardinals indeed said something about being ready to meet Gregory at any place within thirty miles, and suggested Pistoja or San Miniato; but Carlo Malatesta, though willing to recommend Pistoja, did not think that Gregory would consent to any place within the Florentine jurisdiction. Whether Gregory had any real ground for suspicion beyond his vague distrust of Baldassare Cossa and the Florentines, whether the suspicion itself was ground for glory to the city or shame,[2] is immaterial; the suspicion was ineradicable. Something also was said, but nothing settled, about sending deputies to Gregory's council. The negotiations for the reconciliation had terminated in utter failure. The cardinals were not to be bullied by King Rupert, nor persuaded by Carlo Malatesta, into transferring their council from Pisa. They held on the even tenor of their way, and Carlo Malatesta left Pisa on the 26th April.

On the 24th April the fifth general session was held, and a decided step taken in advance. The two Popes and four cardinals were as usual summoned and declared absent; the Popes

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 284-5. [2] Brieger, xxviii. 195.

were condemned for aggravated contumacy, and fresh grace for appearance was given to the cardinals. As a step preliminary to process against the two rival Popes, a tedious statement in the form of an indictment was read, '*prolixa scriptura per modum libelli & articulorum contra ipsos contendentes*,' containing the full history of the Great Schism, from the cardinals' point of view, from the election of Pope Urban the Sixth onward. It laid particular stress on the collusion between the rivals, their secret understanding and common design to hinder the 'way of cession,' referring to the embassy sent by Pope Benedict to Rome to Boniface the Ninth and again to the messengers who passed between him at Porto Venere and Gregory at Lucca.[1] This belief in collusion was tolerably general in Italy.[2] The statement, although it was not so long as that prepared by Pope Benedict and read at Perpignan, took three hours to read through; and certain of the audience may surely be pardoned if, during that long Latin narration following on the lengthy ceremonial observances, they occasionally slumbered and slept. At its close a commission of 'notable men by nations or provinces' was appointed to investigate the charges, and the next session was fixed for the last day of the month.[3]

Ecclesiastics were now fast flocking into Pisa. On the day on which the fifth session was held there arrived the full complement of the embassies from France and the University of Paris, the irrepressible Simon de Cramaud, afterwards to be known as the 'Torch of the Council,' leading the van, accompanied by the Norman doctor, Gilles des Champs. With them came embassies from the Dukes of Brabant and Holland, from Cleves, Bavaria, Lorraine, and Liège; and these were followed by the English contingent, with their brilliant escort of two hundred cavaliers. The English obtained precedence over the French at the council, seeing that England had been converted by Joseph of Arimathea, notwithstanding that the French asserted that they owed their salvation primarily to Lazarus and his sister Martha, and to Mary Magdalen. At the head of the English embassy was Robert Hallam or Hallum, an honest, straightforward, and independent churchman, who

[1] Hefele, vi. 1007, 1009, 1011.
[2] Brieger, xxviii. 193.
[3] Mansi, xxvii. 363.

believed that 'the Lord desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live.' He had been Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and had been made Bishop of Salisbury by a Bull of Gregory the Twelfth, dated the 22nd June 1407. His distinction was acknowledged by the council, who granted him the first seat on the bishops' bench to the left of the cardinals. 'The Prior of Canterbury also was thought to be a man of mark, both for his high character and his learning; but the chief thing that struck the foreigners was his nice stock of cash, with which he was as well supplied as any of their big bishops.'[1] Then came in great state the embassies from the two Elector Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz. Those from Cologne, when they were two days' journey from Pisa, fell into the clutches of the Marquess of Malaspina, who detained them prisoners, until they were released through the friendly offices of Jean le Meingre dit Boucicaut, Governor of Genoa.[2]

At the sixth session of the council, held on the 30th April, the English embassy reached the Cathedral and took their seats while High Mass was being sung. Bishop Hallam then ascended the pulpit, and taking for his text the words '*Justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae*' ('Righteousness and judgment are the foundation of thy throne'), he preached a long and eloquent sermon, concluding with the information that he and his fellows had come, provided with good and sufficient and necessary powers from the King and the clergy of England, to do and consent to whatever that holy council or the larger and saner part thereof should think fit. He urged the council to follow the divine will rather than any human, but unfortunately his lengthy discourse left them no time to do any business beyond appointing certain English and German members to sit on the commission to examine the charges against the rival Popes.[3]

At the seventh session of the council, held on the 4th May, something was said as to sending an embassy to King Ladislas, but nothing was decided. Probably the majority of the members thought that the matter had better remain solely in

[1] Wylie, iii. 377; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxiv. 99 *et seq.*
[2] *Religieux*, iv. 222. [3] Mansi, xxvii. 364.

the hands of Cardinal Baldassare Cossa. The greater part of the session was occupied in listening to a lengthy lucubration from that doctor, learned in the canon and civil law, Petrus of Anchorano, who had prepared the official answer to the objections lodged by the representatives of King Rupert. All their allegations might, he said, be reduced to four chief heads: the subtraction of obedience, the convocation of the council, the invitation to Pope Gregory, and the union of the two colleges of cardinals. The doctor began by insisting that a mere layman had no right to be heard on matters of faith. Nearly every one, even the majority of the German prelates and princes, agreed that the present council was necessary for the ending of the monstrous two-headed Schism, and yet King Rupert objected. His ambassadors defended Gregory but said nothing about Benedict, who must also be considered; for a reconciliation with one Pope only was mere waste of time. The doctor then proceeded to consider the question of heresy. The dictum of the canon law was that a Pope could only be deposed for heresy; but the Universities of Bologna and Paris had invented a doctrine of what may be called constructive heresy; the favouring or abetment of an obstinate Schism was equivalent to heresy; and this doctrine the learned Petrus of Anchorano upheld. He found that the rival Popes were heretics; they desired to divide the Church, and so sinned against the fundamental article of belief in One Holy Church; they were devastators of the Church, and liable to punishment under the canon law. Hence, even if each rival had been sole Pope, since he had fallen into heresy and schism, it was lawful to withdraw obedience from him and to order the faithful to do likewise. The lay princes were bound to withdraw their obedience. Preliminary proof of heresy and schism was unnecessary, since the fact was notorious. The next point was that the King's envoys had pretended that the cardinals were not empowered to convoke a council. The envoys asserted that they came as intermediaries, whereas they were obstinate partisans sowing tares among the wheat, and if they contended that the Pope could regard a general council with distrust, that meant that the Church Universal was liable to err. Gregory and Benedict, as fautors of schism, had lost their

jurisdiction, which had devolved on the cardinals, who could call a council; the papal seat had been vacated through the Schism, so that the cardinals were in duty bound to take thought for the Church; and even if it were held that the papal seat were not vacant, still the Pope was suspected of heresy and was obeyed by only part of the Church, so that the case was the same. Against a wrongful Pope they had a canonical right to invoke the assistance of the secular arm. While neither of the rivals can convoke anything more than a *conciliabulum*, the present synod must be held to be convoked by their joint authority, seeing that they both at their election implicitly swore to convoke it. In time of need, any bishop or clerk, any simple Christian, could call a council. The cardinals can not only convoke a council, but Gregory is bound by his oath to resign, even though Benedict do not also abdicate. The third point, the right of the cardinals to summon Gregory, necessarily follows from their right to convoke a council; and even though they did not summon both rivals to appear, they could depose them both, seeing that the complete unity of the Church is otherwise unattainable. Deposition will be equally valid, be they absent or present. Finally the union of the two colleges was justified, because it was impossible to determine which was the rightful college.[1]

The council was much consoled and strengthened by this lengthy report; they decided to have no further dealings with 'Duke Rupert of Bavaria'; they solemnly recognised Wenzel as the true King of the Romans, and gave his deputies precedence over all others. At the same meeting the commission to undertake the process against the rival Popes was finally settled; they were not going to proceed on the ground of mere notoriety, but were to take evidence; and for this purpose they selected two cardinals, one from each obedience, a bishop and three doctors from France, one English doctor, one Provençal, and two Germans. The council further agreed to send ambassadors to King Ladislas, who was besieging Siena, to urge him to cease hostilities. Pope Gregory had given him permission to levy revenues in the Papal States, and the King had now advanced, at the head of

[1] Hefele, vi. 1013-16.

twenty-four thousand men, within five leagues of Pisa, with the intention of overawing and stopping the council; but the Florentines, as the Abbé of Saint-Maxence says in his letter of this day's date, were able to resist him and his force and to preserve the council in safety.[1] The Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz did not assist at this session, owing to a dispute about precedence, which the Fathers settled by getting them to sit one alongside the other, instead of one behind and the other in front.[2]

On the 8th May, it being the Feast of the Apparition of Saint Michael, the cardinals and others met at the flat-roofed church in the Via del Borgo, and listened in the morning to the eloquence of the Patriarch of Alexandria. He indulged in the exercise of slaying the slain by again, in his own fashion, refuting the contentions of the German embassy. In the afternoon Cardinal Guy de Maillesec proposed that a committee of the council be appointed to attend the deliberations of the cardinals. The patriarch and the archbishops and certain bishops were selected to represent France, and similar arrangements were to be made for other nations. The Cardinal of Albano then announced the approaching arrival of the ambassadors of Pope Benedict, who, he contended, alone represented the Church Universal, and who alone could extirpate the Schism. He asked for instructions as to their reception, audience, and treatment.[3] The consideration of this matter was adjourned till the morrow. In the discussion on the 9th, the chief part was taken by Simon de Cramaud and Robert Hallam. They agreed that the ambassadors should be courteously received, and inquiry made from them as to their powers, but that they should not be honourably welcomed, seeing that they had not subtracted their obedience. This latter proposition was opposed by the Bishop of Cracow, by the envoys from Mainz and Cologne, and by certain cardinals who had not as yet formally withdrawn their obedience. The discussion was continued on the next day, Wednesday, the 10th May.

The business at the eighth general session (10th May) was opened by the Fiscal Advocate Simeon, who proposed that

[1] Monstrelet, 153. [2] *Religieux*, iv. 224-6. [3] *Ibid.* iv. 228.

the council should expressly declare that the two colleges of cardinals had united, and that the council had been convoked by them, legitimately and canonically, that it represented the Church Universal, and was entitled as the highest earthly judge to decide concerning both rival Popes. To this most of those present at once answered *Placet*; but a discussion arose, as the Bishops of Salisbury and Evreux contended that the union of the colleges was not complete unless and until all the cardinals had withdrawn their obedience. Further argument followed, but a conclusion was reached, which was announced by the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Bishop of Salisbury. It ran thus:—This holy Synod after mature consideration declareth, (1) that the union of the two colleges of cardinals is lawful and canonical and is hereby confirmed; (2) that this holy Synod hath been rightly and canonically convoked by the united colleges; (3) that it is an Œcumenical Council, representing the Church Universal, and possessed, as the highest earthly judge, of the power of judging both pretenders to the Papacy and all that thereto appertaineth; and finally (4) that the term for taking evidence be further extended for a week, and the next session fixed for the 17th May. Meantime a minute of subtraction of obedience was prepared for submission to the council at the same session.[1]

At the ninth general session, held on the 17th May, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Simon de Cramaud, at the command of the council read the following decree:—'This holy Synod, in Christ's name assembled, declares and determines, on good and reasonable grounds, (1) that every man ought voluntarily and lawfully to withdraw from the obedience of Petrus de Luna, calling himself Benedict the Thirteenth and of Angelus Corrario, known as Gregory the Twelfth, from the time at which they forebore to follow and fulfil the "way of cession" to which they had sworn; (2) that both pretenders, having been canonically summoned to be here present and having made default, have been rightly declared contumacious, and that therefore it is to be considered that all believers have withdrawn and do withdraw their obedience from them; (3) all

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1139, 1220; xxvii. 366.

sentences of every kind pronounced or to be pronounced by either or both of the pretenders to the prejudice of the union against any one who has subtracted or who shall subtract his obedience are hereby declared to be null and void; (4) every one, even cardinals, although they be judges in this council, is empowered to give evidence; (5) the commissioners to take evidence are not to adhere literally to the articles delivered to them at the fifth session, but may omit any or add thereto, and may send elsewhere, specially to Florence, to take evidence.' When this decree was put to the council there was a general cry of *Placet*, but the unanimity was broken by the voice of a dissentient Englishman. He was an adherent of Pope Gregory, and sturdily voted against the decree. On being asked by whose mandate he was there present, he confessed that he had no mandate, whereupon he was summarily ejected and cast into prison that proper inquiry might be made about him. The importunate Englishman being thus turned out amid confusion, '*confusione ejectus*,'[1] what further happened to him is not told: possibly he was forgotten; at all events it is consoling to reflect that he had no standing whatever, that his was but a casual expression of lay opinion, a mere voice from the inane breaking the calm unanimity of the clerical Council of Pisa.

That council had been sitting now for nearly two months, and all that it had done, beyond rejecting the proposals for adjournment made by King Rupert and Carlo Malatesta, was to find that it was a regularly constituted Œcumenical Council, empowered to provide for the unity of the Church, and that the two rival Popes were contumacious in refusing to appear before it. Seeing that the general opinion beforehand had been that neither Pope would appear, the council had not made much headway. The commission which it had appointed to conduct the process against the Popes had meantime heard many witnesses and had prepared a report. This was read; and it was so lengthy that the mere reading occupied the tenth and eleventh sessions, held on the 22nd and 23rd May. The charges proved were set forth, with the number and the rank of the witnesses to each. As regards the majority of them,

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 395.

notoriety was taken as proof; it was not necessary to prove that a fact existed, it was enough to prove that the allegation was notorious. 'Rumour painted full of tongues' was accepted as evidence; her 'surmises, jealousies, conjectures,' were taken for 'confirmations strong as proofs of Holy Writ.' On this point there was no doubt. The charges enunciated were proved.

The question which troubled the council was as to the offence constituted by the charges proved. The doctrine of the canon law was that a Pope could only be deposed for heresy. The new doctrine of constructive heresy had received the sanction of the Universities of Paris and Bologna, but it was felt to be novel: it was not preached at the council itself. Jean Gerson was absent; Pierre d'Ailly was silent. Heresy was a matter of faith; schism was a matter of conduct. A man's conduct might be faulty, as that of all men is, while his faith might be unimpeachable. Would any defect in conduct amount to a defect in faith? Even Louis of Bavaria had alleged a defect in faith, the disbelief in Christ's poverty, against John the Twenty-second, when he sought to impeach him for heresy. Did the attachment to power, the collusion, the bad faith, the tricks and devices of the rival Popes really amount to heresy?[1] Eighty-four witnesses had been examined, ten of them twice; most of them were Italians, a large number were French; officials of the Curia had testified against their masters; fourteen cardinals, the generals of the Franciscans, the Carmelites, the Austin Friars and of other orders, Simon de Cramaud, Gilles des Champs, the aged Robert the Hermit, and others had given evidence. Still the council was not content. At their twelfth session, held on the 25th May, they passed a resolution that having regard to the notoriety, the scandal, and the danger which would arise from further delay, the commissioners should be empowered to take further evidence and be allowed to send to Siena and Lucca for the purpose. What they desired above all to avoid was the possibility of the present proceedings being reopened at any future time as insufficient.[2]

At the close of the eleventh session there arrived a messenger from Pope Benedict with Bulls which he delivered to his old

[1] Valois, iv. 92. [2] Mansi, xxvii. 399.

cardinals. They hesitated to open them, but on the advice of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Cardinal Filargi broke the seals. The Bulls contained sentences of excommunication and other penalties against those who had disobeyed his former letters, and also a warning and a prohibition against the election of any new Pope. The council was greatly cheered by the receipt of these Bulls, for they proved conclusively that Benedict had received the requisition to attend, that it was useless to expect him, and that he was veritably obstinate and contumacious. Pope Benedict in fact, though his obedience was sorely circumscribed, firmly believed that he was the only true Pastor of the only true Church, and behaved accordingly.[1]

Thirty-two new witnesses were examined, their depositions supporting ten fresh charges. The new evidence was of a different complexion, being on the point of orthodoxy. It was said that Pope Gregory had aforetime been prosecuted for heresy before the Holy Inquisition, and moreover that he had consulted a Jew necromancer named Helias. Against Benedict the allegations were more numerous and serious. He had always exhibited a strange tenderness toward heretics, and a strange ferocity toward the faithful. He had kept two demons shut up in a little box; he had searched all Spain and even among the Saracens for books of magic; he had given a living in Cordova to a clerk who had brought him a book showing the magical character of Christ's miracles; he habitually summoned magicians to assist him, seeing that he himself was an inexpert necromancer; he had been promised that three demons, the God of the Winds, the Prince of Sedition, and the Revealer of Hidden Treasure, were to put him in possession of Rome. It was alleged that magicians, one of them a mysterious man with a long black beard, consorted with him at Porto Venere; that a tower had been struck by a thunderbolt while he was doing his magic; that the powers of Hell accompanied him whithersoever he went.[2] Armed with evidence of this kind, there was little doubt that the council would be able to find both Popes guilty of heresy. For the present, however, it was held in reserve. The ordinary legal mind will at once appreciate the facts that the case against

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 398.

[2] Valois, iv. 92-7.

each Pope was entirely *ex parte*, and that the evidence was mainly mere hearsay.

The question of the heresy of Gregory and Benedict was very troubling to the hearts and consciences of the Fathers at Pisa. On the 28th May the Bishop of Novara gathered together an assembly of archbishops and bishops, of doctors, licentiates, and masters of theology, in the Sacristy of the Franciscans to discuss the matter. They were more than a hundred in number: one quarter came from the University of Paris, others from Cambridge, Toulouse, and other universities, others were friars of different orders, a branch of the Church specially devoted to the study of theology. They decided unanimously that both rivals were schismatics and heretics, and were liable to be deprived of the administration of the papacy for that reason. The Bishop announced that the Universities of Florence and Bologna were of the like opinion; one hundred and twenty masters of the latter university had given their written adhesion thereto. At the thirteenth session of the council, held the next day, Master Pierre Plaoul in his sermon stated that the University of Paris was convinced that Benedict was a schismatic and a heretic in the strict sense of the terms, and was liable to be cut off from the Church of God and from all right to the Papacy; the same opinion was held by the Universities of Angers, Orleans, and Toulouse. In conclusion, he read the protocol prepared by the Bishop of Novara on the previous day's proceedings. At the close of the session an advocate of the council rose and demanded that an instrument be prepared, and a term of eight days fixed for the final citation and appearance of the rival Popes; and a citation was accordingly fixed to the doors of the cathedral and in other public places in Pisa.[1]

On this same day eight of the ambassadors from the University of Paris wrote to their brethren reporting progress up to date. They say that the number of theologians present at the Bishop of Novara's conference was one hundred and twenty-three, of whom eighty '*sont vos sujets et soumis*,' thus showing the great predominance of the French

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1144, 1224; xxvii. 399-401.

element at the council. In their letter they mention that Gregory had sent a Bull to the English, trying to persuade them to take the side of King Rupert, but in vain, seeing that the men of England, Germany, Bohemia, Apulia, France, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Italy were all of one mind in this matter. Very few prelates, they say, had come from Hungary, because their King was at war with the unbelievers. In conclusion, they refer to the terrible Bull which had come from Pope Benedict.[1]

The further evidence taken by the commissioners was read at the fourteenth session, held on Saturday the 1st June. At first the reader wished to give merely a summary, but he was directed to proceed as in the tenth and eleventh sessions. He concluded by informing his auditors that the complete record with the detailed depositions of the different witnesses would be on view at the Convent of the Carmelites on the Monday and Tuesday following.[2] The commissioners who had taken the evidence were at the cloister on those days at the hours of tierce and vespers, but no one desired to inspect the record. The council had now completed its preliminary preparations: Pope Benedict had threatened his former cardinals with pains and penalties; Pope Gregory had made his despairing effort to detach the English party; both attempts had failed. Everything was now ready for the final blow. It was delivered on the 5th June 1409.

Wednesday the 5th June, the Eve of Corpus Christi, the date of the fifteenth session of the Council of Pisa, was in the eyes of all there assembled and in the eyes of the vast majority of Christendom, a day big with the fate of both 'pretenders to the Papacy.' After the usual sacred ceremonies in the Cathedral, an advocate of the council mounted the pulpit and demanded that the rival Popes be summoned to appear. On this Cardinal Oddo Colonna, who was afterwards Pope Martin the Fifth, and the younger Cardinal of Sant Angelo, Stefaneschi, who had been promoted by Innocent in 1405, proceeded to the doors of the Cathedral; they were accompanied by two archbishops and several doctors and notaries. In a loud voice the rivals were thrice summoned to appear in person or by deputy. No one answered. Return was

[1] Monstrelet, 154. [2] Mansi, xxvi. 1145, 1225.

made accordingly. Then the advocate asked that the Patriarch of Alexandria be required to read the definite sentence of the council. There was a universal murmur of *Placet*. The doors of the Cathedral were thrown open, and in the presence of a large throng of listeners Simon de Cramaud, assisted by the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, read the following sentence :—

'In the name of Christ Jesus: *This* holy and universal *synod*, representing the Church Universal, to whom the decision of this matter belongs, being here assembled by the Grace of the Holy Spirit in the Cathedral of Pisa and sitting as a court, having seen and carefully examined all and singular that has been produced, proved and moved in the present case of the union of the Church, the Faith, and the Schism against Petrus de Luna, formerly known as Benedict the Thirteenth, and Angelus Corrario, formerly known as Gregory the Twelfth, which is more fully set forth in the present process; and having examined generally all that has influenced and moved the said council to pass its present definitive sentence; and having had frequent conferences together, and also with a large number of masters of theology and of doctors of civil and canon law; and having after mature deliberation arrived at a unanimous conclusion; *doth hereby* in the best and most lawful manner possible *pronounce*, declare and decree *that all* the *crimes*, excesses and other matters necessary to the said decision, *set forth* by the learned masters Henricus de Monteleone, Joannes de Scribanis, and Bertoldus Wildungen, the promoters, instructors, solicitors, and proctors appointed to conduct the present case for the extirpation of this detestable and inveterate Schism and the union and re-establishment of Holy Mother Church, *against* the forenamed *Petrus de Luna* and *Angelus Corrario*, damnably contending for the Papacy, and called by some Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth, presented and exhibited in petition before this sacred and universal synod, have been and *are true and notorious*; that the aforesaid Angelus Corrario and Petrus de Luna, pretenders to the Papacy, have been and are notorious schismatics, nourishers, defenders, approvers, fautors, and pertinacious maintainers of the ancient Schism; that they are

also notorious heretics and have departed from the faith, and are guilty of the notorious and enormous crimes of breaking their oaths and vows, in most evident and manifest manner, by their incorrigible conduct and contumacy notoriously scandalising God's Holy and Universal Church; that they have thus rendered themselves unworthy of all honour and dignity, and of the Papacy; and that by reason of the aforesaid iniquities, excesses and crimes, they are rejected and deprived by God and the sacred canons from all rule or authority, and are cut off from the Church. And furthermore, the council by this definite sentence deprives, casts down, and deposes Petrus and Angelus, each and both of them, forbidding them to bear themselves as sovereign pontiff, and declaring further that the Roman Church is vacant.' The council then proceeds to release all Christians from their obedience to the rival Popes, to absolve all those holding imperial, royal, or other dignity from their oaths or engagements toward them, and to threaten with excommunication all who shall receive or succour them. The council next declares null and void all sentences of excommunication, all pains and penalties decreed by either Pope, and all promotions to the cardinalate made by Angelus Corrario since the 3rd May 1408, or by Petrus de Luna since the 15th June of the same year. All future processes of either pretender were finally declared to be null and void.

The reading of this lengthy sentence[1] having been concluded, all joined in singing the *Te Deum*. A solemn procession was ordered for the morrow; and it was further ordained that no person should leave Pisa without permission or without having signed the sentence which had just been pronounced. Great was the rejoicing; the magistrates proclaimed the sentence of deposition with the sound of trumpets throughout the city; the bells of the Leaning Tower rang out; and from every church steeple in Pisa the joyful news was re-echoed; the surrounding village churches, one by one, caught up the message and sent it on. In four hours the tidings reached Florence. Every one thought that now at last the Great Schism was at an end.

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1146-8.

Having deposed both Popes and having declared the papal throne to be vacant, the next important business before the council was the election of a new Pope. Nine days was the period of mourning on the death of a Pope, and then the cardinals entered into conclave; hence, as Benedict and Gregory had met their official death on the 5th June, it was meet that the conclave should be closed on the 15th. Who was to be the new Pope? This was the question for whose solution Charles of France and Ladislas of Naples, more than all other monarchs, were waiting with anxious expectation. Would the new Pope be a Frenchman? Would he at least be favourable to the claim of the Duke of Anjou to the crown of Naples? It was to prevent such a Pope being elected that Ladislas had endeavoured, but in vain, to overawe the council. The excitement soon became apparent in Pisa.

The first point to decide was as to who should be the electors. Should the cardinals exercise their ordinary right? The objection was that all the cardinals, save one, had been promoted by the two Popes who had just been deposed for heresy and schism. An election by such a body might to many appear to be tainted. The French party held a long consultation. The Patriarch of Alexandria proposed that it would be desirable on this occasion to depart from the regular rule and to allow the council to elect a new Pope. This proposal at once raised alarm at the French designs. When the Fathers considered the strength of the clerical contingent from France and Provence, when they reflected that Genoa and Leghorn were in her hands and that Florence was allied with her, the object of the ambitious Simon de Cramaud became too patent, even though his scheme was backed by the authority of the University of Paris. The other nations took alarm; they were persuaded that an election by the council would mean the election of a Frenchman. The decision was postponed from the sixteenth session, held on the 10th June, to the seventeenth, held on the 13th. By that day a way out of the difficulty had been found. The cardinals were to proceed to election, but on this occasion they were to proceed not as cardinals promoted by either of the heretical Popes, but as cardinals acting under the authority of the General Council;

and they were exhorted to elect the new Pope with charity, and so unanimously that no scintilla of discord should possibly appear.[1] The present exceptional proceeding was not to prejudice their usual rights on any future occasion. While High Mass was being sung, the cardinals retired behind the altar and swore to elect a Pope, either unanimously or by a two-thirds majority. The Podesta, the Captain, and the Vicar of Pisa, in the name of the Republic of Florence, also took the customary oath for the security of the conclave. The French party did not like the compromise, but were constrained to accept the rebuff. Simon de Cramaud must have felt his hopes fading away.

There had been other business also at the sixteenth session. The Cardinal Antoine de Chalant had appeared. The days of grace allowed at the fourth session were long passed by; but the Cardinal of Albano represented to the council that the Cardinal of Saint Mary in Via Lata, as he had been created by Benedict in 1404, had remained absent so long in the hope of overcoming the obstinacy of his master, and that he had only abandoned his task when he recognised its utter hopelessness. The council accepted the excuse, and in solemn silence the new arrival took his seat among his peers. He was a Savoyard of noble family, and had formerly been chancellor to the Count of his native province. Men said that he had come to Pisa hoping that he might be acceptable to both French and Italians as their future pontiff, seeing that he might be accounted the countryman of either. It was also rumoured that he tried to detach Boniface Ferrier from the obedience of Benedict. 'What is the good of going to Pisa?' inquired Boniface; 'they will only make another Pope, and he will be an anti-pope.' 'No matter, provided they make one,' answered De Chalant; 'let him be anti-pope or devil, he will improve with keeping (*postea purgabitur*).'[2] About the same time as De Chalant arrived two other cardinals, Louis de Bar, who had started with the luckless Archbishop of Reims, and Antonio Calvo, one of the two Cardinals of Saint Praxedes. Another arrival was more important than either of these.

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 408.

[2] Lenfant, i. 282.

Another resolution taken at the sixteenth session testifies its recognition of the widespread feeling in favour of reform of the Church. This was the crying want of the age. Churchmen themselves were alive to the simony and venality which disgraced the Curia, and even the Universities cried out against the excessive taxation, while the lay world stood aghast at the moral depravity and turpitude which spread, like a loathsome sore, over so many of the secular and regular clergy alike. The nunneries were often mere brothels, the confessional was too frequently a trap for innocent or comely wives and daughters. Radical reform was necessary. It was opportune, therefore, when the Archbishop of Pisa read a declaration signed by all the cardinals, to the effect that whoever should be elected Pope would continue the present council until, by its aid, he had provided for the necessary, reasonable, and adequate reformation of the Church in its head and its members. On the proposal of the Fiscal Advocate, measures were taken to announce the deposition of the rival Popes to the different countries of Christendom. Antonius of Portugruario was also declared to be the rightful Patriarch of Aquileia. Finally, having settled who were to elect the new Pope, it was decreed at the close of the seventeenth session that on the following day, the 14th June, a solemn procession should proceed from the Church of Saint Martin to the Cathedral, there to entreat the divine aid in the choice of the new Pope.

Cardinal Baldassare Cossa, the guide and author of the council, reached Pisa just in time for the new election; the deposition of the rival Popes had occurred three days after he left Bologna. He had had much to do there this year. He had known beforehand that he would have to protect the council against the army of Ladislas; and if the council was able to do its work in peace, he desired to be at Pisa at least in time for the new election. He had therefore to arrange that Bologna should be secure and undisturbed during his absence. He began by appointing his own man, Nicolo Angelelli, to the command of the Castle, in place of Count Manfred, whom he could not trust. The Count went off to his relative, the Constable Alberigo da Barbiano, and accompanied him in his unsuccessful attempt on Romagna. Then

the Legate got fourteen of his own confidants elected among the City Council of Bologna. He made arrangements for fortifying the fortress of Crespellano in the level country. On the 28th March he had seen his two fellow-countrymen, the Cardinals Carracciolo and Maramaur, start for the council: the former was a personal friend of Baldassare Cossa; the latter had just returned from the Diet at Frankfurt. At the same time the French ambassadors left Bologna for Venice, 'to work for the union of Christendom.' Then had come the attempt of Ladislas's general, Ottobuon Terzo, to kill the Marquess of Ferrara, and his own death at the hand of Sforza Attendolo, to the great joy of all. After the King of Naples had been thus checkmated, the way was comparatively clear for Baldassare Cossa to proceed to Pisa, and on the 2nd June, accompanied by many learned men, in whose society he always took pleasure, he departed.[1] He was in Florence on the 12th,[2] and reached Pisa just in time to enter the conclave with the other cardinals. He was, in fact, in the city on the 14th.

On this day the grand procession took place; cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and clergy took part therein. They marched from Saint Martin's Church, south of the river, over the wooden bridge, up the Via del Borgo to the Cathedral, as they had marched on Lady Day; and in the Cathedral Cardinal de Thury again celebrated High Mass. These occasional celebrations seemed to be all the honour he was like to receive in return for his frequent presents of good wine to the cardinals. The eighteenth session of the council then commenced. Ambassadors, the Chancellor, and three cavaliers had arrived from the King of Aragon, and demanded audience. This was granted, but they were first required to produce their credentials, for which they sent to their lodgings. The Chancellor of the King of Aragon then ascended the pulpit; he set forth the zeal of his sovereign for the unity of the Church; he requested to be informed of all that this congregation—he carefully avoided calling it a council—had hitherto done; he announced that the envoys from Pope Benedict were then in Pisa and desired an audience, and he carefully guarded himself against the supposition that his

[1] Ghirar, ii. 578-9. [2] Valois, iv. 105.

presence there should in any way countenance any of the resolutions at which the honourable Fathers had arrived. The mention of Benedict as still Pope was greeted with hisses and laughter. The Fiscal Advocate answered for the council, thanking the King for his good will, promising a commission to inform the ambassadors of all that had hitherto happened, and appointing certain others to examine the powers of the envoys from Petrus de Luna, and to grant them an audience if it were fitting. The Chancellor in his turn smiled at the concession of granting even a partial audience, through a commission, to the envoys of one who had been solemnly declared heretic; it was an inconsistency, but compromise was then, as now, of the essence of politics.

The commission met at Saint Martin's Church that same afternoon. The royal ambassadors and the envoys from Benedict were present. The obstinate little Pope had delayed in despatching his nuncios, he had neglected to provide them with the powers which the Council of Perpignan had voted. They had been detained at Nimes by order of the King of France; they had been stopped by a captain from Pisa; and now, being expected ever since the 8th May, they had arrived after Pope Benedict had been formally deposed. They included in their number the Archbishop of Tarragona, the Bishops of Siguenza, Mende, and Senez, and the Carthusian Prior, Boniface Ferrier. With much difficulty did they gain an entrance to the church, for the common people hooted them as if they had been Jews. They were received by twelve cardinals, among whom was Baldassare Cossa. In the church itself the envoys, as had been formerly arranged, were not greeted 'with honour.' The sentence passed against Pope Benedict was read to them, and three cardinals were deputed to hear what they had to say. The Archbishop of Tarragona began to speak: 'We are the nuncios of the honourable Pope Benedict.' There arose an uproar immediately. The crowd had pressed into the building. 'The nuncio of a heretic and a schismatic art thou,' shouted one of them. When order was restored the Bishop of Mende requested a hearing. A friendly Florentine, who had property in Aragon, reminded him that nothing could be said or done to the disrespect or detriment

of the council. Again he inquired if he might speak freely. The Captain of Pisa answered that under the oath which he and other officers had sworn he could allow nothing to the prejudice of the approaching election; and the Cardinal of Aquileia assured him that this condition was absolutely irrevocable. As it did not seem that they were to be allowed to say anything to the point, the royal ambassadors and the papal nuncios asked for a day's delay in order that they might consult together on their position. They desired at once to return to their lodgings; but this was impossible owing to the excited state of popular feeling. They were obliged to wait. They had the fullest powers, they said, and were determined not to return home until the unity of the Church had been accomplished; from Pisa they would go on to Gregory and would negotiate with him; they asked the Cardinal Legate of Bologna for a safe-conduct. 'If you come to Bologna,' said he, 'with or without safe-conduct, I will burn you all as soon as I catch you.' Remarkably frank and outspoken was Baldassare Cossa; this was his first public utterance in the Council of Pisa. The envoys knew him to be a man of his word; so they thought better of their project, and, like Pliable in *Pilgrim's Progress*, they got out of the mire on that side of the slough which was next to their own house. As soon as the tumult had somewhat subsided, the captain's son and certain respectable citizens escorted them back to their inn, and that night the papal nuncios, like the German embassy before them, left Pisa secretly without taking formal leave of any one. Boniface Ferrier was especially annoyed at the want of feeling on the part of those who had formerly been cardinals and prelates under Pope Benedict. Simon de Cramaud had set a guard on the city gates, but the nuncios slipped through, and the council saw them no more.[1]

The last session of the popeless council was held on Saturday, the 15th June. High Mass was celebrated by Philippe de Thury, Archbishop of Lyons, the cardinal's brother; and the sermon was preached by the Bishop of Novara on the appropriate text, '*Eligite meliorem et eum ponite super solium*' ('Look ye out the best and meetest and set him on the throne'). He

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1150; Hefele, vi. 1029-31.

exhorted the cardinals to proceed to the unanimous choice of a good and worthy ruler. This ended the session.

At vespers the twenty-four cardinals, the Cardinal Calvo arriving just in time, entered the Archbishop's Palace, a hundred yards or so to the west of the Leaning Tower, and were there immured in conclave under the guard of the Grand Master of Rhodes and other prelates, not to issue thence until a new Pope should have been chosen. Fourteen of the cardinals belonged to the obedience of Gregory, ten to that of Benedict, and at first there was a natural bitterness between the two parties.[1] Bribery was said to be rife: every cardinal had promised whatever they chose to ask to the servants of the others; the French court had lavished money; the King's cousin, Louis de Bar, Cardinal of Saint Agatha, might be chosen; the 'domestic prophecy' of Cardinal de Thury might haply be fulfilled; Cardinal de Chalant, the Savoyard, might be selected; or Simon de Cramaud, Patriarch of Alexandria, might at length obtain the tiara for which he had sighed so long and worked so ardently. But since the French machinations as to the method of election had been defeated there was but little chance of an Ultramontane being selected. Eleven days the cardinals continued their consultations. Cardinal Baldassare Cossa was by common consent the strongest and ablest member of the college, and to him accordingly they offered the papal crown. He declined to accept it, but recommended to them his old friend and adherent, Petrus Filargi, who was neither a Frenchman nor an Italian.[2] He was known to be an able man, 'a man of holy life and truly religious,' says the Monk of Saint-Denys. He might not know who were his father and his mother, but that saved him from the trouble and temptation of providing for his relations; he might not be profoundly versed in the canon and the civil law, but he was a man of the world who knew many men's manners and had seen many cities; it was no ordinary man who could win the confidence of that astute and masterful tyrant, Gian Galeazzo. His only serious fault was that he sat half the day at table and had in his house four hundred female servants clad in his livery.[3] Moreover the worthy cardinal, after the

[1] Mur. xxiv. 174. [2] Raynaldus, viii. 286. [3] Mur. xix. 41.

Patriarch of Alexandria, had been the most active prelate in the affairs of the Council. For these recommendations, and because he was now seventy years of age, the cardinals in conclave assembled chose Petrus Filargi, Archbishop of Milan and Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles, to be the future Pope of the Council and of Christendom, and he took the title of Alexander the Fifth.



Pope Alexander the Fifth.

# CHAPTER XI

## POPE ALEXANDER THE FIFTH

The new Pope, Petrus Filargi, 'a man of the highest knowledge, in name and in reality an Alexander,' is thus described in his epitaph:—

*'Divus Alexander, Cretensi oriundus ab ora,*
*Clauditur hoc saxo, summo venerandus honore,*
*Antea Petrus erat, sed celsa sede potitus,*
*Quintus Alexander fit, ceu sol orbe coruscans,*
*Religione minor, post ad sublime vocatus.'* [1]

The news of his election would naturally be received with great joy in Milan and Bologna, where he was well known, but not in Rome, which was at that time occupied by the troops of Ladislas of Naples. The Gray Friars everywhere were overjoyed that a Franciscan had been chosen Pope; in Pisa they were wild with delight; 'they ran about for days through the streets and squares as if they were mad, determined to get all the good things while the wind blew their way.' More especially was the new election a triumph for France: Baldassare Cossa, and consequently the new Pope also, were devoted to the French alliance. Cardinal Louis de Bar was despatched from Pisa to the court of his cousin, and Maître Luquet was deputed to the University of Paris. The news reached that city on the evening of the 7th July, and was announced next morning. The people were delighted; they made huge bonfires; they walked in procession, the parlement accompanying them; they feasted and drank; they cried with a loud voice, 'Long live our Pope, Alexander the Fifth'; the *Te Deum* was sung, and the bells rang through the city the whole night long.[2]

[1] Mur. iii. 841-2. [2] Lenfant, i. 292; Valois, iv. 10; Wylie, iii. 383.

Although the Council of Pisa had deposed Popes Gregory and Benedict and had elected Pope Alexander, there was still much before them as a council to do. There was the burning question of church reform; there was also the question of the reform of the papal procedure, which was agitated by many of the bishops; there was very much that a council ought to do, if it was to satisfy all the hopes that had been raised. But the Council of Pisa was under the influence of the cardinals; everything was planned by them; what they proposed was carried unanimously, and without them was nothing done that was done. The cardinals, having elected a new Pope, felt that they had done the one thing absolutely needful, and were not inclined to undertake any further business of a difficult or delicate character. Consequently the remaining sessions of the council were devoted to matters of a merely formal or uncontroversial nature. There were certain things which it was necessary to adjust before the council could rise, and the remaining four sessions of the council were devoted to their regulation.

The sessions of the council had necessarily been suspended while the cardinals were in conclave. The twentieth session was held on the 1st July under the presidence of Pope Alexander the Fifth, and was marked by an increased solemnity. Cardinal de Thury again celebrated High Mass, the Pope pronouncing the benediction. Those parts of the service which had formerly been taken by a cardinal-bishop were now performed by His Holiness; the *Orate* and the *Erigite Vos*, instead of being proclaimed by a simple chaplain or deacon, were now pronounced by a cardinal-deacon; and the Pope was assisted by cardinals of the same rank in white dalmatics and mitres. After the litany Alexander himself read the remaining prayers and intoned the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. A lofty seat had been placed for him in front of the high altar, and facing him were the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. After the office had been concluded, the Cardinal de Chalant, assisted by three bishops, ascended the pulpit and read and published the decree, from which it appeared that the Pope had been unanimously elected by all the cardinals. A prayer for the welfare of the new pontiff and of

Holy Church was then put up. The Pope then preached a sermon on the text, '*Fiet unum ovile et unus pastor*' ('There shall be one fold and one shepherd'). As a prophecy the text was premature; as a statement of fact it was inaccurate. Every one knew that there were certain kingdoms, such as Scotland and Naples, which still adhered to the old Popes; that although the greater part of Christendom might have withdrawn its obedience from them, still the subtraction was not universal; and though Alexander the Fifth and the majority of his audience might believe that very shortly the whole Church would become one fold under one shepherd, still that belief was, as faith too often is, merely the 'substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' There were at present, and for some years there were still to be, three sheep-folds under three shepherds, as King Rupert and others had foretold; the Council of Pisa had not secured the unity of the Church; the Great Schism was not terminated, but intensified.

The sermon being over, Cardinal Baldassare Cossa, at the Pope's order, rose and read certain newly framed decrees, ratifying all that the cardinals had done from the 3rd May 1408 until the council was opened, and all that the council itself had performed up to the present time, and supplying all defects, if any existed. The Cardinal de Chalant was restored to his benefices which had been forfeited by his contumacy. The two colleges of cardinals were then formed into a single college. The next decree related to the reformation of the Church in its head and its members: the Pope requested the different nations to appoint deputies, men of probity, age, and capacity, to consult with him and his cardinals in this matter. Finally the Pope announced that he intended to send messengers, and he desired the cardinals and all who had taken part in the council to carry the news, to all kings and princes and to all parts of the world, that all connected with his own election and the deposition of his rivals had been done decently and in order. To all of which proposals the council answered in murmuring assent, *Placet*.[1]

Sunday, the 7th July, was the day fixed for the coronation. The new Pope, assisted by the cardinals and by the prelates in

[1] Mansi, xxvii. 411-12.

their long copes (*pluviales*) and white mitres, celebrated Mass, and then came out of the western door of the Cathedral. Here, on the steps of the façade, the only part of the exterior which makes any pretence to architectural beauty or finish, a high throne had been erected facing the baptistery. The Pope took his seat. The Epistles and the Gospel were read in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Tow was solemnly burned before him, to show that the glory of this world passeth away. The triple crown was set on his head by the Cardinal of Saluces amid the shouts of the spectators. Then His Holiness, with the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and mitred abbots, mounted their steeds, duly caparisoned in white cloths and trappings. The abbots headed the procession, followed by the bishops; behind the patriarchs came the cardinals in order of rank, and last of all came the Pope on his white mule, clad in full pontificals and with the tiara on his head. Thus they rode solemnly through the streets of Pisa. The two rival Popes were burned in effigy ; the Jews, as was customary, met the Pope and petitioned for the confirmation of their privileges ; they presented him with the book of their law, which he threw behind him, having a better law as his guide, even the Law of Christ. Arriving at his house, the Pope dismounted, and the Captain of Pisa took the horse and its trappings as his perquisite.

Even before he was crowned the new Pope had given evidence of his extravagant and reckless liberality. He had created abbots, bishops, and archbishops; he had presented benefices and dispensations to the servants of all the cardinals who had elected him ; he had showered his bounty without respect of persons, acting as no Pope had acted for centuries before, so that the more intelligent of the Curia were stupefied, and murmured at his indiscretion.[1] He thought nothing of church dignities, so improvidently did he distribute them.

The twenty-first session of the council was held on the 10th July, and was occupied in receiving the ambassadors of Florence and of Siena, who had come to congratulate the new pontiff. The election was a triumph for Florence over the King of Naples. In this session also Alexander annulled all

[1] *De Schismate*, 324.

the sentences of his rivals against those who had withdrawn from their obedience and had chosen the path of neutrality, but at the same time he confirmed all their decrees passed in matrimonial causes.[1]

The summer was wearing on; it was hot in Pisa. Many prelates and ambassadors had already left, and many others were anxious to quit, the sunny city. Accordingly at the next session, which was not held until the 27th July, Pope Alexander announced that the work of the reformation of the Church would be undertaken by a council to be held in continuation of the present council in April 1412, at some place to be hereafter notified. In the same session he ratified all the provisions of his rivals in favour of his own adherents; he renounced his right to all outstanding arrears due to the Apostolic See from all churches up to the date of his own election; and at the same time he gave up all claim to the spoils of deceased prelates and to the revenues of vacant benefices. This renunciation was an act of wise liberality, inasmuch as it avoided a number of claims fruitful of litigation and difficult of execution.

The twenty-third and last session of the Council of Pisa was held on Wednesday the 7th August 1409. It was decreed that the real property of the Roman and other churches should not be alienated by sale or mortgage either by the Pope or by any other prelate until the next general council; it was further decreed that before that time all the bishops should hold diocesan councils and all the abbots should hold chapters. The Pope undertook to send ambassadors to the kings and princes of Christendom and to the faithful generally to publish to them the acts of the Council of Pisa. On the authority of God, of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and on his own authority, Alexander bestowed plenary absolution on all who had attended the council and on the servants who had been with them, and this was to avail even to the hour of death. Finally, permission was now given to all remaining members to return to their own homes.

Thus ended the Council of Pisa. It was uncanonical from the outset, being convoked neither by Pope nor Emperor; but

[1] Mansi, xxvi. 1152, 1253.

it was deemed to be a work of necessity. The Universities of Paris and Bologna approved its action; Gerson, D'Ailly, and other learned prelates wrote lengthy treatises to prove its canonicity. It was known to be under French or Burgundian influence: in March 1409 the cardinals invoked the aid of the French court in behalf of the Pope whom they were to elect. It was attended by representatives of the greater part of Christian Europe; and when once Carlo Malatesta and the envoys of King Rupert and Pope Benedict had been dismissed, its unanimity was wonderful. Everything was carefully arranged beforehand, and a unanimous murmur of *Placet* greeted nearly every decision. Nevertheless it had but little confidence in itself; it did protest too much, and one protestation was used to fortify another. The only person who raised a dissentient voice, a sturdy Englishman, was hunted from the session and clapped into prison. It acted upon the novel assumption that the rival Popes were bound to answer its summons and to present themselves before it, and that they were guilty of contumacy in not appearing. It elected a new Pope; but although he was obeyed by the greater part of Christendom, the unity of the Church had not been achieved: instead of two Popes there was now a trinity. Spain, Scotland, Sardinia, Corsica, Armagnac, Foix, and Bearn, still acknowledged the obedience of Benedict; parts of Italy and of Germany, and the northern kingdoms, were still faithful to Gregory.[1]

In the matter of the moral reform of the Church, that reformation for which all Europe was yearning, the council did nothing. Possibly it did the best it could at the time in insisting that diocesan and conventual councils should be held to digest the necessary measures.[2] In the matter of internal reform of administration there was also much that called for immediate attention, although here the path of reform was not so clear. 'The prelates and proctors of England, France, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and Provence, presented to the Pope a list of grievances to which they called his attention, as deviating from the old laws and customs of the Church. They enumerated translations of bishops against

[1] Hergenroether, ii. 846.

[2] Hefele, vi. 1042.

their will, Papal reservations and provisions, destruction of the rights of patronage of bishops and chapters, the exaction of first-fruits and tenths, grants of exemptions from the visitatorial power of bishops, the excessive liberty of appeal to the Pope in cases which had not been heard in the inferior courts.'[1] The French court and the University of Paris wished to obtain from the Council of Pisa the restoration of the liberties of the Gallican Church; they wanted the Papacy to go back a hundred years and to renounce all those rights and prerogatives which it had asserted or created in the interval. These were matters which affected the Church revenues, and the aim of the reformers was to abate the excessive drain of revenue to Rome, and to keep more of the wealth of the Church for themselves. They had very little regard to the excessive and unavoidable expense of the Pope and the papal Curia; and some of the clamour in this respect was as reasonable as would have been a demand for the King to live 'of his own' under circumstances in which Parliament willingly granted tenths and fifteenths. It was almost impossible, regard being had to the monarchical system of the Papacy, to get the matter regarded fairly and impartially from the side of the Pope and from the side of the clergy, and the cardinals at Pisa were hardly likely to side with the latter. Very little attempt was made to deal with any of these abuses. 'In fact,' says the Bishop of London, 'we are driven to admit that the council scarcely proceeded with the care, discretion, or singleness of purpose which were necessary to enable it to perform the duty which it had undertaken. Its intention from the beginning seems to have been to over-ride, not to conciliate, the contending Popes. In the first session the advocate of the council was allowed to call them by the derisive names of "Benefictus" and "Errorius." The council entirely identified itself with the cardinals, and accepted their procedure as its own.'

Jean Gerson was not present to point out that it was the Church Universal, and not the cardinals, that the council should represent. Pierre d'Ailly, save for his deputation to meet Carlo Malatesta, did not lift up his voice in the council;

[1] Creighton, i. 253.

he was a mere spectator with no influence on the proceedings. For part of the time he was sent away to Genoa on special work, so that his actual stay in Pisa at the time of important deliberations was of the shortest. The canon lawyers of the University of Paris were well and worthily represented by Simon de Cramaud, whose services were appreciated and fully utilised by the cardinals, and who did his work *con amore*. But the Theological Faculty of the University, which represented the new and rising school of religious criticism, that school which looked rather to the living word of the spirit than to the dead letter of the law, this Faculty was practically unrepresented at the Council of Pisa. 'If the council had taken up a position of its own, which could have been supported by all moderate men, it might have exerted such influence on the Popes themselves, or their supporters, as to have reduced them to submission. Moreover, the council did not sit long enough, nor discuss matters with sufficient freedom, to make its basis sure.'[1] Beside being uncanonical, the council of Pisa had not been impartial; it had failed to exhibit a judicial and reasonable spirit; its decisions therefore were not accepted with that universal reverence and respect which usually attached to the findings of an œcumenical council. 'We cannot wonder that an assembly which dealt so hastily and so precipitately with difficult and dangerous questions should fail to obtain a permanent solution.'

While the council had been doing its utmost to ensure peace and unity, both France and Germany were drifting perilously near the verge of civil war. After the assassination of the Duke of Orleans on the 23rd November 1407, and the scholastic apology for the crime by Jean Petit on the 8th March 1408,[2] the Duke of Burgundy in July marched off to Liège to the relief of his brother-in-law the Bishop. The coast was now clear for his opponents. On the 11th September another assembly of the princes was held in the interest of the widowed Duchess. The Abbé of Cerisi pronounced a harangue which was longer and more eloquent than that of Jean Petit; the royal princes determined to proceed against the Duke of Burgundy rigorously, 'according to the terms of

[1] Creighton, i. 254.

[2] Barante, iii. 107.

justice': if he did not submit, the King was to make war upon him with the greatest power possible.[1] Unhappily the Duke returned from Liège more powerful than before: he had defeated and massacred his foes in thousands; he had by his personal courage won the name of *Jean sans Peur*. The beautiful but unfortunate Valentine Visconti, who had of late taken for her motto *Rien ne m'est plus, plus ne m'est rien*, died just before her husband's assassin re-entered Paris on the 28th November. The common people received John of Burgundy gladly; the King, the Queen, and the princes left Paris hurriedly. A hollow peace was patched up between the two parties at Chartres on the 9th March 1409. The King and Queen returned to Paris, but the sons of the late Duke of Orleans—the eldest was but eighteen years of age—remained absent from court. The young Duke of Orleans won over to his cause the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, and Brittany. Being already a widower, he married the daughter of Count Bernard of Armagnac; he thus became the head of the sturdy Gascon troops; and the war between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs loomed in the near distance. Nothing but want of funds kept the opponents from flying at each other's throats.

The ambassadors of King Rupert, who had fled from Pisa like thieves in the night, had previously and subsequently been received by Pope Gregory like the sons of the morning. He created Matthew, Bishop of Worms, his Legate, and Matthew delegated to another ambassador, Bishop Ulrich of Verden, his powers in Magdeburg, Bremen, Verden, and Minden; and Rupert ordered obedience to be rendered accordingly. But the greater part of Germany had escaped from the obedience of Pope Gregory, and had embraced that of the cardinals' Pope, Alexander the Fifth. The Austrian Dukes and the University of Vienna, all the east and south and much of the west of the Empire, were against the King. The star of Wenzel and the French alliance was in the ascendant. King Rupert's cousin, Ludwig of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, brother of the Queen of France, had married for his first wife the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon. He now took for his second Princess Catharine of Navarre, and the

[1] Lavisse, IV. i. 335.

King of France, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy were at the wedding.[1] King Rupert's arch-enemy, John of Nassau, Archbishop of Mainz, now figured as *legatus natus* of the new Pope, and was a vassal of the King of France. The imminence of civil war in France itself alone secured its neutrality at this time in Germany. Before the new Pope was elected, Rupert addressed a letter to the German princes, describing the reception of his embassy. He attributed their want of success not to the disposition of Gregory's old cardinals, but to the disaffection of the others and the opposition of the Florentines; Baldassare Cossa by his intrigues led the council whither he would. Had Rupert himself been willing to assent, the cardinals would have made him the mightiest Kaiser in the land; his ambassadors had answered that they were not sent to seek any temporal glory for their own King, but for the love of God and the eternal welfare of Holy Church. But Germany had pronounced against her King. The Elector Archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Markgraf of Meissen, had sent their ambassadors to Pisa; so too had Bavaria, Lorraine, Austria, Burgundy, Brabant, and the Wittelsbachs of Holland. King Rupert had to drain the cup of ill-fortune to the dregs.[2]

Not only was the King losing ground both in matters of Church and of State, not only was he abandoned by the princes even of his own family, but the cities of the Empire, the towns which had in 1408 made a special league with him, renounced their liability and their allegiance. His most trusted and trustworthy friend, Friedrich, Burggraf of Nuernberg, entered the service of King Sigismund of Hungary, the half-brother of Rupert's rival. His most talented ecclesiastic, Matthew of Cracow, Bishop of Worms, died on the 5th March 1410. Death had also by that time deprived him of five of the ten children which his wife had borne him, the last to die being his youngest and best-beloved daughter, the beautiful Elsa, whose marriage to Frederic of Austria secured him the Habsburg alliance. The old feud with John of Nassau broke out afresh; it was a feud to the death now that the spiritual allegiance was divided. Rupert went to Marburg at the

[1] Huebner, tab. 133; Hoefler, 445. [2] Hoefler, 446-48.

beginning of March, and made a league with Hermann of Hesse, Otto and Eric of Brunswick, and others, against the Archbishop-Elector, and then returned to Heidelberg to await the war which must soon break out. Two months later the unexpected happened, and war was averted.

King Sigismund of Hungary and the Venetian republic had been no less earnest than King Rupert in desiring a reconciliation between Gregory and the cardinals; but unlike King Rupert they deserted the aged Pope when they saw that his cause was lost. Angelo Corrario looked for the support of the Republic, and sought for an asylum in his native city; but he had refused to support the candidature of the Doge's nephew for the bishopric, and he had now to pay the penalty. Ambassadors from England, France, and Burgundy implored the Republic to support the conciliar Pope and to assist in closing the Schism. There was a hot debate in the Senate. The Doge wished to recognise Alexander, and his motion was carried by seventy-nine votes against forty-eight. Venice accepted the Pope elected by the Council of Pisa.

This act was a distinct declaration of ecclesiastical policy, doubtless the right policy for the Republic. As a temporal power Venice, along with France, the Emperor and other temporal princes, was concerned to resist the claims of the Roman Curia, and to support the conciliar principle that general councils are superior to Popes, from whom may lie an appeal to a future council. To this fundamental line of ecclesiastical policy, declared now for the first time by the Republic, Venice adhered throughout all her many disputes with Rome.[1]

Sigismund of Hungary followed suit. He was the coming man, but he was not as yet in a position to dominate the board; he was obliged to wait upon circumstances and to play an opportunist game. He had desired a council at which both Popes should be present, and had worked for this end; but when once Alexander had been elected, the King's project was no longer feasible, and he reconsidered his position. He had none of King Rupert's honourable loyalty, through good report and through evil, to the man whom he considered to

[1] Brown: *Venice, a Historical Sketch*, 269.

be the rightful and canonical Pope; Sigismund looked to his own interest and the interest of Hungary. What could he gain by adherence to a Pope whom nearly all princes and prelates, whom the Republic of Venice had forsaken? The Republic, moreover, had just sold Zara and other places to Ladislas of Naples, who had claims on Hungary, and could only have concluded the purchase with an eye to making them good; so that the Republic now was to be reckoned among the enemies of Sigismund; and since Gregory was already on the side of Ladislas, it behoved Sigismund not to allow the Republic of Venice to monopolise the favour of Alexander. Pope Gregory, moreover, with his wofully shrunken obedience, could be of no use to a warlike king in his projects against the Turks, the enemies of Christendom; no one would listen to a crusade preached by Gregory. The Council of Pisa had on its side done its best to revive the honour of the house of Luxemburg by its acknowledgment of Wenzel in opposition to Rupert; and if Sigismund desired at some future time to succeed his half-brother, it clearly behoved him to recognise the Pope who had acknowledged Wenzel as the rightful King of Germany. Such were probably the reasons which determined King Sigismund of Hungary to acknowledge the Pope who derived his authority from the Council of Pisa.[1]

Although Alexander the Fifth was not a Frenchman, still his election was a triumph for the French party in the Council of Pisa, for it was the victory of Baldassare Cossa, Papal Legate of Bologna, and of the French alliance. There was now some chance that the claims of Louis of Anjou would be pressed against Ladislas of Naples, the enemy alike of the Cardinal and of the Duke. Louis himself arrived at Pisa in July 1409, and his arrival was the cause of the delay which had occurred in holding the twenty-second session of the council. When his father died at Bari on the night of the 20-21st September 1384, Louis, the second duke of the second house of Anjou, was a boy of seven, in the care of his mother, Marie de Bretagne in France. His father in his will desired that the child might be sent as soon as possible to Italy to comfort and console the inhabitants of his kingdom;[2] the

[1] Goeller, 62-3.

[2] Valois, ii. 83.

loyal barons and the captains of the army swore allegiance, and the soldiers shouted 'Long live King Louis the Second; Death to the traitor Charles.' On the 2nd August of that year he was married by proxy to Lucie, daughter of Bernabo Visconti, who was then reigning at Milan. On the 9th February 1385 he entered Paris, was met by two cardinals, two archbishops, and the royal dukes of Berri, Burgundy, and Bourbon. The Neapolitan nobles and Marie de Bretagne solicited aid from the French King for the invasion of Naples. On Pentecost Day, 21st May 1385, the boy knelt before Pope Clement the Seventh at Avignon and did him homage, and the Pope placed in his hands two banners with the arms of the Church and of Naples, thus investing him with the Kingdom of Sicily. No pecuniary help from France was, however, forthcoming until the year 1390.

On the 20th July of that year the young duke set sail for his kingdom, and he reached Naples three weeks later. He was received with acclamation; the banner of Clement the Seventh waved in the streets of Naples, and the young King was preceded by the Papal Legate. But few, however, of the barons came in to tender their allegiance, and a long and dreary contest between the two pretenders to the crown began.[1] The Castle of Saint Elmo was taken on the 18th October 1390; the Castle Nuovo surrendered on the 7th March 1391; Otto of Brunswick and Alberigo da Barbiano were captured on the 24th April 1392; Amalfi was taken in June 1392 and Ravello in February 1393; and in September of the same year a number of the Calabrian barons submitted. Then followed some years of desultory warfare, until the tide of fortune turned in favour of King Ladislas. At the end of 1398 certain of the barons returned to his allegiance; and in 1399 he captured Tarento and Naples from his rival, who returned disconsolate to France.[2] From that year the Duke had remained in France, nourishing in his breast the claims which he was unable to prosecute by force of arms. Lucie Visconti being dead, he married Yolande of Aragon on the 1st December 1400. This was in the time of the first subtraction of obedience from Pope Benedict the Thirteenth, and

[1] Tartini, ii. 226; Valois, ii. 168.

[2] Tartini, ii. 401-4.

Marie de Bretagne had withdrawn the domains in Provence from their spiritual allegiance. The Duke, however, joined the party of his cousin of Orleans; he dined and slept at the Pope's palace at Avignon on the 27th August 1402, was once again invested by His Holiness with the Kingdom of Sicily, and restored his obedience to Pope Benedict in return for a money payment of sums due to him from the Holy See. In 1405 the Duke of Anjou had accompanied the Pope to Genoa, a voyage which occasioned some trepidation to King Ladislas, who believed then, and later when Pope Benedict was at Porto Venere, that a *coup de main* was to be attempted on Rome in the interest of the French Pope and the French Duke. Quarrels at court recalled the Duke to Paris, and Ladislas was saved any invasion in 1405. From that time Louis of Anjou was unable to do anything in furtherance of his claim on the crown of Naples, until the league of Florence, Siena, and the Cardinal Legate of Bologna opened to him more alluring prospects.

On the 26th June 1409, the day on which the cardinals raised to the pontifical throne the only member of the Urbanist college who had not engaged to support Ladislas,[1] the league between the contracting parties was made at Pisa. Louis of Anjou engaged to furnish during the month of July a thousand lances, five hundred to come from France and five hundred to be engaged at his expense; and on the day when he started for the war with Naples, the two republics and the Cardinal Legate were to grant him the like aid on their part. On the 25th July the Duke arrived at Pisa, was met and welcomed by the ambassadors from Florence and by the cardinals, was received in public consistory, and assisted at a session of the council. After having given his allegiance to Alexander the Fifth, the new Pope appointed the Duke to be Gonfalonier of Holy Church, and on the 19th August 1409 invested him with the Kingdom of Sicily as Clement the Seventh had done in 1385, and Benedict the Thirteenth in 1402. Louis, Duke of Anjou, had been sufficiently invested, but had still his kingdom to win from its actual occupant, and meanwhile the Florentines were beginning to doubt whether they had done wisely in having

[1] Valois, iv. 119.

invited him to Italy. They had entered into the league because of the negotiations of Ladislas with the Pisan exiles, because of his wasting of Arezzo, because of the treachery at Cortona; but now that Baldassare Cossa had driven their enemy to a distance and had dispelled their fears, they began to fear lest they had introduced a compromising and dangerous pretender into their midst. Their allies, however, determined to drive the King of Naples out of the states of the Church.[1]

It was ten years since Louis, Duke of Anjou, had been driven from Italy by Ladislas of Naples; he was now thirty-two years of age, but he had learned little by misfortune. He was neither the man to command an army in the field, nor the man to take the lead in a great expedition. On the present occasion he had left part of his fleet behind him, and he reaped the fruit of his folly. His ships, when he reached Savona, found the place in revolution, and forthwith attacked the Genoese. At Genoa the aspect of affairs at this time changed completely, much to the joy of Ladislas, much to the chagrin of the Duke of Anjou. The two sons of Gian Galeazzo of Milan had complained to the King of France of the depredations of Facino Cane, who was gradually usurping the whole of their possessions: they asked the King to take them under his protection and sovereignty. Delighted at the prospect of extending French influence in Italy, the King commissioned the Marshal Boucicaut to take the necessary steps. The Marshal borrowed money, raised an army, left Messire de Choleton [2] in command of Genoa, marched off, took Tortona, crossed the Po, and met the Count of Pavia, who introduced him into that city in the midst of a brilliant cortége. Thence he moved on to Milan, which the Duke in like manner surrendered to Boucicaut for the King of France. The Marshal was girt with a splendid sword, received the golden sceptre, and seated himself on the royal throne. French troops were to take possession of the castles of Milan, and war was to be declared on Facino Cane. 'O the blindness of men's hearts, knowing not the future,' exclaims the pious monk; he was ignorant that through the devices of that same

[1] Tartini, ii. 607; Valois, iv. 121. [2] Monstrelet, 159; *Religieux*, iv. 260.

Facino Cane, the Marquess of Montferrat was at that moment master of Genoa. No sooner had the Marshal left Genoa than the Marquess had agreed secretly with the Doria and Spinola families to raise the place against him. They introduced troops into the neighbouring villages and held revolutionary meetings in the city. Choleton was assassinated on the 2nd September; of the French some were massacred, others fled to the citadel; the Marquess of Montferrat was welcomed with acclamation and conducted to the palace. Under him twelve councillors were appointed, after the ancient fashion, to govern the republic. Boucicaut hastened back to Genoa, but found the city in the hands of his enemies; he could do nothing. The French in the citadel surrendered, and were allowed to rejoin the Marshal, a shirt on their backs and a stick in their hands ('*sola tunica amicti et virgam manu tenentes*'). Genoa was thenceforward lost to France, although the Genoese refused to admit Facino Cane; they excused their action to the King of France on the ground of the excessive cruelties and exactions of the Marshal, who was the worst tyrant in Christendom.[1] Genoa was now mistress of the Riviera; the city had no mind to help Louis of Anjou. In spite of the letters of Pope Alexander, who sent the Cardinal of Saluces to them, the Genoese leagued themselves with Ladislas of Naples, and committed reprisals on the Florentines as the allies of his rival.[2]

On the 7th September 1409 the Duke of Anjou marched out of Pisa with five hundred lances under the command of Tanguy du Châtel, a Breton leader with a boyish face. The Duke went to Siena to await Baldassare Cossa, who was again to be engaged in an occupation thoroughly congenial to him. The Legate had come from Florence, where he had for the time overcome the scruples of the Ten, and had arranged that the Florentine troops should meet their allies at Chiusi. There were two thousand lances and five hundred foot. Malatesta de' Malatesti, the Lord of Pesaro and Fossombrone, and cousin of Carlo Malatesta, was in supreme command;[3] and under him were two excellent condottiere

[1] Monstrelet, 159; *Religieux*, iv. 254-66.
[2] Valois, iv. 131.
[3] *Biog. Univ.* xxvi. 328.

officers, Sforza Attendolo and Braccio da Montone. The Florentines had taken the precaution to send two citizens with their general,[1] who fortunately did not hamper him excessively. King Ladislas had left Paolo Orsini behind him in command of his troops in Tuscany; and Paolo Orsini, *more suo*, played the traitor and entered the service of the new Pope; so that it seemed as if the boast of the Florentines that they would conquer Ladislas with his own troops were about to be realised. No one knew better than the King that many of the condottiere generals were ready to desert to the employer with the longest purse. Having thus annexed their enemy's general, there was nothing to oppose the allies; they enjoyed a triumphal march through Tuscany and Umbria; Orvieto and Montefiascone submitted to them; at Viterbo the citizens deposed Pope Gregory's nephew, who was the Vicar, and made over the city to the Legate amid shouts of 'Long live Alexander the Fifth, death to Pope Gregory.' With the single exception of Todi, the whole country passed under the sway of the new pontiff, whose troops were on their march to Rome.[2]

Their arrival was expected. Although the Castle of Sant Angelo was held against the Neapolitans by Vituccio Vitelleschi, who was at first neutral but soon declared himself a partisan of Pope Alexander, several new gates were made with proper defences during the month of September. The allied forces reached Rome on the 1st October. They penetrated into the Borgo, and reached the Portico of Saint Peter. The Porta Viridaria, the principal gate of the Leonine city, through which Emperors customarily entered, had been walled up on the 19th August by the order of the Senator of Rome, but had been reopened on the 25th September to admit the Count of Troja, Giovanni Colonna and others of the Neapolitan generals fleeing before the allies. On Tuesday the 3rd October at the hour of tierce, Louis, Duke of Anjou, accompanied by Paolo Orsini and four other Orsini generals, made his triumphal entry into Rome. Cardinal Baldassare Cossa took possession of the Vatican. The banners of Pope Alexander the Fifth, of Holy Church, and of Duke Louis of

[1] Ammirato, v. 7.

[2] Tartini, ii. 613.

Anjou floated over the Leonine city; and the Duke's chaplain celebrated Mass at the high altar of Saint Peter's Church.[1] It was seven years since Baldassare Cossa had last been in Rome, the private chamberlain of Pope Boniface the Ninth, who had promoted him to be Cardinal-Deacon of Saint Eustachius, and had then made him Papal Legate of Bologna. Six years of strong and successful rule over that stormy city had transformed him into the foremost cardinal of the Urbanist obedience. He had originated and engineered the Council of Pisa; he had got a firm friend elected as Pope, and was himself the man behind the throne; he had entered the Eternal City in triumph, and now held the papal palace and the papal fortress for Alexander the Fifth.

The whole of Rome was, however, not yet conquered: the Count of Troja and the Colonnas still held the city across the Tiber for King Ladislas. Although the allies held the Castle, they could not wrench the strongly fortified bridge of Sant Angelo nor the Trastevere from the enemy. On the 10th October the allies abandoned the Borgo, crossed the Tiber by the Monte Rotondo two miles north of the city, and attempted to take Rome from the east; but it was in vain. They had made no provision for an assault. The only alternative was to besiege the city; and seeing that this involved a considerable delay, the Duke and the Cardinal did not deem their presence any longer to be necessary.[2] On the 10th October the Duke of Anjou and Cardinal Baldassare Cossa left the army under the command of the Florentine general, Malatesta de' Malatesti, Signor of Pesaro, and hurried back to join the Pope. The French troops remained under the generals Tanguy de Châtel and the Count of Tagliacozzo. Malatesta was assisted by Paolo Orsini, by Sforza Attendolo, by Braccio da Montone; against them were ranged the Neapolitans under the Count of Troja, under whom were Giovanni and Nicolo Colonna and Baptista Savelli. Skirmishes between the rival armies occurred all through the months of October, November, and December.

The last session of the Council of Pisa had been held on the 7th August. Pestilence then appeared in the city, and

[1] Mur. xxiv. 1003. [2] Raumer, 221.

the Pope and cardinals, fearing for their lives, withdrew later in the month to Prato, the little Florentine town on the Bisenzio, where the Virgin's Girdle is preserved and exhibited, and where the Cardinal and the Duke, on his way back to France to raise additional funds, found them on the 1st November.

The Pope, before leaving Pisa, while his strong friend, thirty years his junior, was still at his side, had shown a certain disposition toward meeting the demand for the internal reform of the papal government. Alexander was willing to give up much: he abandoned all claims to arrears of revenue due to the Apostolic See, and all the spoils and revenues of vacant benefices; he promised not to transfer bishops without their consent, save for special and weighty reasons; he restored, pending the meeting of a new council in three years' time, the right of election to cathedral churches and to the larger monasteries; he recognised to a certain extent the right of the ordinary to appoint to benefices in his own nomination; but further than this he was not prepared to go. He expressly reserved for himself and the cardinals the rights to first-fruits and services, which had become a regular and necessary source of revenue to the Holy See. At the same time, although he renounced his claim to apostolic taxes due and unpaid, he sent an officer to France to collect all arrears possible; and at the same time he deputed Cardinal de Thury to propose to the French court and the University of Paris the imposition of a new tax of two-tenths on the clergy of the kingdom. The Pope and the cardinals had themselves to think of as well as the realm of France.

Moreover, Pope Alexander the Fifth, in the absence of Baldassare Cossa, and without consulting any of the other cardinals, unhappily promulgated a Bull of very serious and far-reaching consequences. This was the Bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, in favour of the Mendicant Friars, dated the 4th (or the 12th) October 1409. Petrus Filargi had been educated by the Franciscans and had entered their order; all his best feelings were bound up with them, and their interests were dearest to his heart. Unhappily the last two hundred years, as has already been pointed out, had witnessed a sad deterioration

among the mendicant orders. From a blessing they had too frequently become a curse to the communities among which they dwelt; the friction and strife between them and the secular clergy had invaded the Universities of Paris and Oxford; the parish priest everywhere with reason complained that the friar with his portable altar deprived him of the tribute and the alms of the faithful. In 1215, before any order of mendicant friars had been constituted, the Fourth Council of Lateran had issued its famous Bull, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, requiring every person to confess at least once in the year to his or her own parish priest, or to another confessor by the express permission of that priest. This was the year before the Order of the Dominicans was instituted. In 1227 Pope Gregory the Ninth, without mentioning the Bull of the Lateran Council, authorised the Preaching Friars to hear confessions in places where they preached. This caused some apprehension, especially in England,[1] among the secular clergy, whose privileges and revenues were thus invaded. But Innocent the Fourth in 1244 supported the Dominicans against the bishops. In 1253 the Friars were expelled from the University of Paris for disobedience to its statutes;[2] and in the year following Pope Innocent, shortly before his death, published a second Bull, disavowing his former, prohibiting them from hearing confessions without the permission of the parish priest. This Bull in its turn was revoked by Innocent's successor, Alexander the Fourth, who allowed the Friars to preach and to hear confessions, provided they had the permission of the Pope or of a Papal Legate or of the ordinary of the place. He also revoked the decree of the University expelling the Friars. Clement the Fourth in 1265 placed some limitations on the Bull of Alexander, and in 1280 Pope Martin the Fourth attempted to settle the matter, and at the same time to save the authority of the Lateran Council, by giving to the Friars full liberty to hear confessions provided the penitent also confessed once a year to his own parish priest. The strife between the seculars and regulars, however, increased in virulence as the years went on, and the mendicant orders grew stronger and stronger. The

[1] Matthew Paris, iii. 149.

[2] Rashdall, i. 378.

Popes naturally favoured them, for the mendicants were subject to them alone under their own generals, and were the most powerful and popular agents of the papacy throughout Europe; but the bishops and secular clergy fought hard for the loaves and fishes of which the friars despoiled them. By the time of Pope Boniface the Eighth the friars had worked serious havoc with the influence of the secular clergy; this Pope surrounded them with his special protection, raised them to high dignities in the church, and even made several of them cardinals;[1] he promulgated in favour of the Dominicans and Franciscans—and it was subsequently extended to the Austin friars and the Carmelites—the Bull known as *Super Cathedram*. This allowed them to preach, to hear confessions, to award penance and grant absolution, and to bury the dead in the provinces in which they were established, provided their superiors had obtained the permission of the bishops. Even this limitation did not approve itself to his successor, who gave the Dominicans full and unlimited power to hear confessions; but the Bull of Boniface was re-established by the Council of Vienne under Clement the Fifth in 1311, and remained thenceforward in force. The friars selected by their superiors as fit and proper persons to hear confession were by them presented, under this Bull, to the bishops for permission 'in order that with their permission and under their good pleasure the friars designated might, in the towns and dioceses of the aforesaid prelates, hear the confessions of those who wished to confess to them, impose salutary penance, and grant them the benefit of absolution.' It naturally followed that those who confessed to the friars were no longer required to confess to their parish priests, and this view was expressly upheld by Pope John the Twenty-second. Unfortunately this Pope was himself of not unimpeachable orthodoxy, and the opinion, which had the sanction of the Lateran Council, that every one was obliged to confess to the parish priest once in the year, found favour and was vigorously defended. Notwithstanding this, the regulars gained ground. In Germany in King Rupert's time, when the King himself did a good turn to divers monasteries, and when there were several reforming

[1] Rocquain, 213.

abbots, the general state of the regular clergy was better than that of the secular.

Now that they had got a Franciscan Pope, the friars determined to turn their opportunity to their own advantage. All four orders complained to him of the contention that confession to a friar did not exempt a man from confession to the parish priest. Pope Alexander the Fifth, in the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, upheld in every point the constitution of his predecessor Boniface, notwithstanding the Bull of the Lateran Council, and any other papal constitutions to the contrary ('*non obstante predicta, quae incipit Omnis utriusque sexus, et aliis constitucionibus apostolicis contrariis quibuscunque*').[1] This Bull is expressed to be made with the counsel and consent of the cardinals, but they all declared that they knew nothing whatever about it. The greatest excitement was caused in the University of Paris, where the well-received opinion was that confession made to an 'admitted brother,' as the licensed friars were called, was of doubtful and uncertain efficacy. In order to avoid mortal sin, said the doctors, it was necessary for a man to confess to a priest who had the cure of souls. In 1408 a Franciscan, Jean de Gorel, had publicly maintained that friars were an institution of the primitive Church and therefore prior in their inception to the parish priest; that they therefore had a superior right to preach, to hear confessions, to administer extreme unction, and to perform burials. But the Theological Faculty of the University had haled the bold Franciscan before themselves, and had obliged him to recant and to state publicly that these rights, and the all-important right to collect tithes, belonged essentially to the parish priest, and that the mendicant friar could not have them except accidentally and by permission of the prelates. When the friars produced the Bull of Alexander, the University, backed as they were by the cardinals, at once flew to arms; they determined to expel all the mendicants unless they renounced the Bull. The Dominicans and the Carmelites at once complied. On the 1st March 1410, at the Church of Saint Martin in the Fields, one of the 'Dogs of the Lord' preached a sermon before the University, in which he declared

[1] *Religieux*, iv. 292-306.

that his order had not asked for the Bull, and that they were content with their former privileges. The Franciscans held by the Franciscan Pope; they refused to submit; they ran about the streets with copies of the Bull in their hands; they insulted the priests; they proclaimed that they alone could hear confessions and levy tithes. Jean Gerson preached against them on the third Sunday in Lent; and, what was more efficacious, the King sent a herald to make a proclamation and to affix a notice outside the Friary doors, forbidding the secular clergy, on pain of loss of their temporalities, to allow any Franciscan or Augustin to preach or hear confession in their churches.[1] The cause of quarrel was finally removed by Alexander's successor. 'From his conduct in this matter,' says Bishop Creighton, 'we may judge the character of Alexander. Owing everything to his Order, he was ready to befriend it in any way, and at once complied with the requests which its advocates preferred, without any consideration of their wisdom or expediency. . . . He was generally under the rule of his cardinals; only in granting this Bull to his beloved Order did he venture to act without their advice, and then he foolishly endeavoured to act secretly, because he had not the courage to face and overcome opposition.'[2]

Rome meanwhile was suffering all the horrors of war: the papal army occupied the Leonine City; the Neapolitans were south of the Tiber. When the Legate and the Duke went off to join the Pope, Paolo Orsini, who liked to take military matters deliberately, marched his troops off toward the Lago Bracciano, leaving Nicolo Orsini in charge of the Castle Sant Angelo. The first care of the clergy was to preserve their sacred relics: images, bells, and reliquaries were hurried from one church to another for safety; the Veronica was finally deposited in the Castle. Bombards were hurled from Sant Angelo into the city, and frequent sallies were made; what with the scarcity and the war, the citizens were at their wits' end: they dared not cross the river to get in their vintage, for Nicolo Colonna attacked boats and crops. A mole was made at the Sanctus Spiritus; a 'cat' was prepared for breaking down the walls; certain gates of the city were walled up,

[1] Schwab, 459-60; Lenfant, i. 313-16. [2] Creighton, i. 265.

others were burned down. On the 22nd October some of the Neapolitan troops marched out toward Naples, but three days later the galleys of Ladislas appeared before Ostia, and on the 28th the city was in a state of siege. It was impossible to observe the Feast of All Saints. The church bells rang not at all, except as a call to arms. In November, Ladislas sent as usual to appoint the magistrates for the year, and took the opportunity to order a few salutary executions. At times a touch of comedy lightened the darkness. A butcher, who had sold a hundred pigs, sent them to the river to be watered; one of the pigs ran away; the drovers and the other pigs followed; and all were captured by the garrison of Sant Angelo. Most of the cattle, however, were dying from want of fodder. Toward the end of the month renewed preparations were made by the Count of Troja; Paolo Orsini also threw supplies into Sant Angelo. The armies avoided any fixed fighting, but convoys were attacked and prisoners made on one side and on the other; sallies were met by counter-sallies; cries for the Church and the Orsini were answered by shouts for the Church and the Colonna. The weather was stormy and tempestuous. Great damage was done to the churches: some of the towers and turrets were pulled down, the principal doors were taken off their hinges or bricked up, parts of the Portico of Saint Peter's were ruined.

As the year drew to its close the allies pressed closer and closer round the city. On Saturday the 28th December, the Feast of the Holy Innocents, Malatesta drew up his whole army outside the walls; his troops shouted to the Romans to raise a cry for the Church and the People; bombs from the Castle Sant Angelo were hurled into the city. Nicolo Colonna with six hundred horsemen stood ready to meet them. There was no fight that day; at vespers the troops drew off. That night Paolo Orsini came with his army and encamped outside Saint Peter's on the Vatican Hill. Next afternoon, at the time of vespers, the Count of Troja, with Nicolo Colonna and Baptista Savelli, marched out their army through the Porta Septimania, and a fight took place. The slaughter was not great, but the condottiere general gained a decisive victory, took a large number

of prisoners, and others of his enemies threw themselves into the river and were drowned. The most important prisoner was the Count of Troja himself, who, however, managed to escape that same night, thereby depriving Paolo Orsini of his hope of a heavy ransom. The Florentine general, Malatesta, was already in communication with one Laelius, a noble with a strong following, and with other traitors inside the walls.[1] The defeat of the Neapolitan generals was decisive. On the last day of the year the fickle Romans, led by some boys, raised the cry '*Viva lo Popolo e la Chiesa!*' and shortly after midnight the victorious generals entered Rome in triumph. On the 5th January 1410 the Senator who held the Capitol for King Ladislas surrendered it to Paolo Orsini, who on the 8th brought his wife, Donna Rica, into the city. The strong towers by the gates still held out for King Ladislas, but they were taken one by one; Paolo Orsini stuck to the work; he did not cease it even for the Games 'in Agone' which were superintended by Malatesta. On the 16th January, after three or four days' bombardment, the Porta San Lorenzo, which stands on the site of the ancient Porta Tiburtina, on the road leading to Tivoli, surrendered. On the 29th January an embassy was despatched to Pope Alexander to announce the good news to him. Finally, on the 15th February, the Porta Maggiore, the gateway which stands where the old archway of the Claudian aqueduct once brought into Rome the water which was 'second only in excellence to the Marcia itself,'[2] was taken by assault, and the last sign of Neapolitan rule was thus effaced from Rome. The papal troops garrisoned the Eternal City. Pope Alexander was acknowledged by the Romans. King Ladislas of Naples was defeated, but not yet conquered.[3]

The Roman embassy found Pope Alexander at Pistoja, the Tuscan mountain town near the Ombrone and about eighteen miles from Prato. Like it, Pistoja was subject to the Florentines. On the 1st November at Prato, on the day when the Duke and the Cardinal returned from Rome, Alexander fulminated a Bull against King Ladislas of Naples, who had—so the Bull ran—been nourished by the milk and substance of

[1] Raynaldus, viii. 300. [2] Hodgkin, iv. 161. [3] Mur. xxiv. 1007-1015.

the Roman Church, who had been crowned King of Naples and Sicily by Pope Boniface the Ninth, who had abused his power and had been excommunicated by Pope Innocent the Seventh, who had usurped the possessions of the Church and forfeited all his engagements toward her, who had imprisoned the relations and ravaged the lands of the Cardinals Cossa and Antonius, and who finally had prohibited his subjects from recognising Pope Alexander; wherefore by the advice of his cardinals the Pope now summoned King Ladislas to appear and to hear the sentence depriving him of his kingdom and his rights. It is needless to say that Ladislas of Naples took no notice of this *brutum fulmen.*

At Pistoja the Pope spent Christmas and the New Year, and here he received the Roman ambassadors. He was inclined to accede to their request and to go to Rome; the Florentines also persuaded him thereto, in order to confirm the Romans in their obedience and to recover other lands of the Church.[1] But Cardinal Baldassare Cossa was opposed to the proposed move. Rome was now safe, and the presence of the Pope was unnecessary. He reminded the Pope that at the time of his election it was agreed that they should work for the recovery of the possessions of the Church in Tuscany, and that he himself had spent strength and money to that end; furthermore, he added that when he left for the Council of Pisa, he had promised the Bolognese that on his return he would bring the Pope back with him, and that he feared they might kill him if he failed to keep his word.[2] There was a touch of sardonic humour in the suggestion that Baldassare Cossa, who had lived through six years of repeated attempts at assassination, stood really in fear of the men of Bologna. The argument was thrown out as a sop to the Curia, and it was believed by the credulous and stolid Dietrich von Niem; but Pope Alexander knew Bologna and Baldassare Cossa too well to take it seriously. Probably the cardinal's real reason was that he knew that his own presence was required at Bologna, and that after the issue of the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, he dared not leave the Pope alone. He promised to make suitable accommodation for the Pope and his cardinals; and accordingly, braving the ice

[1] Ghirar, ii. 580.

[2] Hardt, ii. 355 *et seq.*

and snow and the 'winter's furious rages,' the Pope and Curia accompanied Cardinal Baldassare Cossa back to his beloved city of Bologna.

During his absence on the march to Rome and with the Pope, the Legate's place at Bologna had been filled by his friend, Cardinal Conrad Caracciolo, who like himself was a Neapolitan. The Pope was settled in the Anziani Palace with his court around him; suitable lodgings in different palaces and houses were provided for the cardinals,[1] and all were entertained by Cardinal Cossa. Undoubtedly the move was well advised. The Pope was old and feeble; it was better to keep him in comparative safety than that he should run the risk of renewed hostilities. Rome was safe for the time, but King Ladislas was not yet subdued. He had lately taken for his motto *Aut Cæsar aut nihil*, meaning to try for the overlordship of all Italy; he might be expected back from Naples at the head of a large army; while his opponent, the Duke of Anjou, on the other hand, had departed to France for reinforcements, and had not yet returned. The events of the next few years proved that the Cardinal had judged the danger aright. That his own presence was urgently required at Bologna was proved by the revolt of Forlimpopolo.

While Pope Alexander was at Bologna he received news of the war between King Sigismund of Hungary and his allies the Servians against the Turks,[2] whereupon the Pope preached a crusade calling upon all Christian princes to help the kingdom of Hungary in its time of need.[3] About the same time, at the solicitation of the Archbishop of Prague, the Pope promulgated a Bull against the Wyclifite heresies in Bohemia, but without naming John Hus. The reformer, being Rector of the University of Prague and in favour at court, where he was the Queen's confessor, went his own way peacefully, saying that he should appeal from Alexander ill-informed to Alexander better-informed. On the 22nd January 1410 the Pope renewed his condemnation of his two rivals and their adherents. Another embassy arrived from the Romans, bringing the Pope

[1] Ghirar, ii. 580.

[2] Aschbach, i. 233.

[3] Lenfant, i. 323, quoting Bzovius; Aschbach says nothing about any crusade: *vid. sup.* p. 307.

the keys of the city, and entreating him to come speedily and take possession. Alexander was delighted with the embassy, and appointed the Cardinal of Saint Praxedes to the administration of the Church and the City of Rome, with power to absolve the citizens from the oath which they had taken to Pope Gregory and King Ladislas. The Florentines also promised the Pope to help the Duke of Anjou.

Among the most zealous partisans of the league against King Ladislas was Nicolo, the Marquess of Este. In gratitude for his good offices the Pope summoned him to Bologna, and on *Laetare* Sunday presented him with the Golden Rose. The ceremony of consecration of the Golden Rose and of its presentation to the prince most worthy for devotion to Holy Church had been inaugurated by Pope Urban the Second in 1095; it designated Christ, who was 'the Rose of Sharon'; the red colour typified His blood, the 'dyed garments from Bozrah'; and its colour of musk and balm was the emblem of His resurrection. It was consecrated and presented once a year, on the fourth Sunday in Lent.[1] On the present occasion, the Pope after blessing and distributing candles to the populace from the loggia of his palace, went with his cardinals to the Church of San Petronio, where he celebrated Mass after the custom of the pontiffs in Rome, blessed the Golden Rose, and presented it to the Marquess with the usual solemn ceremonies. It was almost the last act of Filargi's pontificate.

The rejoicings, more than there had ever been before in that city, with which the arrival of Pope Alexander was welcomed at Bologna, were marred by the news of the revolt of the little town of Forlimpopolo, which lies just beyond Forli on the road to Ravenna. The Constable da Barbiano, the old enemy of Baldassare Cossa, was at the bottom of the plot; Giorgio Ordelasi was his instrument. Ordelasi opened communications with the men of Forli as well as with those of Forlimpopolo; he got two hundred horse and two hundred foot from the Lord of Urbino; the gates of the castle, through the negligence of the officer in charge, were treacherously opened to him at night by the citizens in the plot, and Forlimpopolo was taken. The rebellion spread through the

[1] Lenfant, i. 323-5.

country-side: troops were sent from Bologna; Florence sent three hundred foot soldiers to the aid of the Podesta of Forli. Then one night Giorgio Ordelasi tried to surprise Forli; he got within the walls by treachery, but was repulsed after a sharp fight by the Podesta and the Florentine troops.[1] On the 3rd March Forlimpopolo was straitly besieged, and on the 8th April the Papal Legate himself went there to superintend the operations. The town was on the point of surrender when, on the 28th April, Baldassare Cossa was recalled to Bologna by the news that his old friend, Pope Alexander, was seriously ill. When a Pope was ill, poison was always suspected; and although the cardinal was then fifty miles from Bologna, there were not wanting some who pretended that the illness was caused by a poisoned clyster which he had sent to be administered. This report was not believed even by the cardinal's inveterate enemy, Dietrich von Niem, and may safely be ascribed to mere idle and empty malice. Baldassare Cossa at once raised the siege and hastened back to Bologna.

The old Franciscan, 'who was an excellent man in the whole course of his life,'[2] was daily getting weaker and weaker; it was evident that he lay a-dying. He made a good end. When he found that he was getting worse rather than better, he assembled the cardinals round his bed and said to them: 'Let not your heart be troubled: I ascend to my Father and to your Father.' He asked them to pray that he might die with a quiet and contrite spirit, and made an exemplary confession of faith. He recommended France and the University of Paris to their care; he exhorted them to concord and peace, and to defend the honour of the Church; and he swore 'by that death he was just now about to undergo, and by the conscience of his well-acted life, that he did not think or believe that anything was decreed in the Council of Pisa but with all justice and integrity, without any deceit or fraud.'[3] He blessed them all, saying, 'My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you.' He bade them adieu; he commended his soul to God, and shortly after midnight on the 4th May he died, with a last prayer on his lips. The funeral sermon was preached by a Franciscan on the text, 'He hath ascended into

[1] Tartini, ii. 621. [2] Platina, 342. [3] *Ibid.*

heaven.' The funeral Mass was said by the Cardinal of Viviers in the church of the Cordeliers; the Pope's body was embalmed and exposed for nine days, dressed in sacerdotal costume, with gloves in the hands, and the feet bare for the kisses of the faithful. On the ninth day he was buried in the church of the order he loved so well, the most beautiful shrine in Bologna. There his mortal remains still lie beneath the marble figure of the Pope carved by Sperandio of Mantua.

Pope Alexander the Fifth had reigned for ten months and eight days. As soon as he was buried the cardinals were ready to enter into conclave. Carlo Malatesta sent imploring them to defer the election in the hope of securing the unity of the Church: he suggested a council. Baldassare Cossa answered him that his plans were not feasible, that a fresh council would be too tedious, that cession was impossible seeing that Gregory was in the hands of King Ladislas, that the cardinals could not remain without a head.[1] He added that he himself had done more for the welfare of the Church than others; that if a friend of his were elected, it were well; that if an enemy were chosen it might be for the good of his own soul. As at the previous election, Baldassare Cossa was his own chief opponent. It was not that he did not desire the dignity, but that he, being still in the prime of life, did not desire it at that particular juncture; he would have preferred to have bided his time and, like Hildebrand before him, to have remained the all-powerful cardinal behind the papal throne, in a position of nearly equal power, of less responsibility, of greater opportunity. He advised the cardinals to choose Conrad Caracciolo as their pontiff. The Cardinal of Malta was a homely, unpolished man; not learned, but of good moral repute. A Neapolitan, he had joined the Curia in the time of Urban the Sixth, and had served with Cossa in the court of Boniface the Ninth: that Pope had made him Bishop of Malta; in 1405 Innocent the Seventh created him Cardinal-Priest of Saint Chrysogonus. He had been at first trusted by Gregory the Twelfth, but had abandoned him to join the cardinals at Pisa; and he had been sent by Alexander the Fifth as Legate to Cisalpine Gaul. He had filled the place

[1] Hefele, vii. 5.

of Baldassare Cossa at Bologna; the Papal Legate knew and trusted him. The choice, however, would not have delayed matters much, for Conrad Caracciolo died at Bologna in 1411.[1]

The Duke of Anjou, however, had returned from France and was at Pisa; he sent emissaries to the cardinals urging them to elect Baldassare Cossa. The French court and the Republic of Florence favoured the same candidate. The habitual jealousy of the French and Italian cardinals being thus assuaged, the result was a foregone conclusion. But it is doubtful whether, even in the interest of Louis of Anjou, such a choice was not a mistake. A fighting cardinal would have done the Pope more service than a partisan Pope. The Popes were now men of peace. The days of the fighting Popes who appeared at the head of their own armies, the days of the Second Gelasius and Calixtus, were nearly three hundred years past, and a century had still to elapse before the advent of that thunderbolt of war, Pope Julius the Second. Meantime the Popes were no longer warriors and generals; their methods had changed. It is instructive on this point to mark the difference between the conduct of the papal campaign against the Hohenstaufen and that against Louis of Bavaria. Against the former excommunication had indeed not been spared; but the cities of Lombardy had been raised in revolt, and the house of Anjou had been invoked to conquer the last princes of the rebellious house. War alone had decided the event. Against Louis of Bavaria, on the other hand, Pope John the Twenty-second, beyond the petty crusade of the Poles and the petty attempts at revolt of the Italian Guelfs, had depended entirely on the spiritual arms of the Church, on excommunication and interdict. He arrogated to himself the collation to all bishoprics, and tried to win over the three archbishops of the Rhine, but he was confronted by the towns and by most of the great lords of Germany and by the whole Order of the Franciscan Friars. Marsiglio of Padua, John of Jandun, Englebert of Admont and other ecclesiastics lent their aid to the King, who held his own. Later on, during the Great Schism, Clement the Seventh had financed the first Duke of Anjou, and Benedict

[1] Ciaconius, ii. 718.

the Thirteenth had despatched galleys for Rome, but neither pontiff had taken any personal part in the war. So too, if Baldassare Cossa became Pope, his fighting days were over; as a general and a warrior he was lost to the French cause, and his most conspicuous rôle of public usefulness was concluded. In this respect, therefore, his election as Pope was a mistake.

On the 14th May 1410 the cardinals entered into conclave. They were bricked up in the great hall of the Podesta's Palace, the palace which is surmounted by a large, square, open, battlemented tower, the palace which since 1245 had been used as the residence of the city magistrate. The hall itself was named after the young and handsome poet-king Enzio, the natural son of the Emperor Frederic the Second: men said that here he had lingered out the days of his weary captivity, and that here he had been solaced by the love of the beautiful Lucia Viadagola. The influence of the French court, of the Duke of Anjou, and of the Republic of Florence was too powerful for resistance: on the 17th May the eighteen cardinals issued from the conclave and announced that Baldassare Cossa, Cardinal-Deacon of Saint Eustachius, was to be their future Pope. He took the title of Pope John the Twenty-third.

Baldassare Cossa had now, when little more than forty years of age, attained the height of an ecclesiastic's ambition. He had fulfilled the jesting promise which he made to his fellow-students when he left the University of Bologna. But the appointment was a mistake, and he himself must have felt it to be so. Hitherto he had been a man of war; henceforth he was to be a man of peace, the servant of the servants of God. His chief enemy that he knew was King Ladislas of Naples; against him he was to appear no more in the field of battle. The new Pope was a consummate and crafty politician of the Italian school,[1] but he was nothing more; he had no experience of European politics, and he was not a statesman. He was a Neapolitan, an Italian of the Italians. The ordinary Italian character of his day was devoid alike of religious and of moral enthusiasm; intellectually and artistically it was polished and acute; but it was of the earth, earthy; it

[1] Hergenroether, ii. 849.

was incapable of the breadth of feeling and view which distinguishes the mere politician from the real statesman. With but few exceptions, such as Carlo Malatesta, all Italian politicians of that time were opportunists. The new Pope might have his envoys in the various courts of Europe, he might know the characters and the motives of the men who played the game of politics, he might see the best move for the moment on the political chessboard, but he would not attempt to see further. John Hus's schemes for religious reformation, the war between the Poles and the Teutonic Order, the deadly feud between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, the war between France and England, the dispute as to the succession in Spain—these were all mere moves on the board which he would regard simply as they affected his own opportunist policy. In character, though not incapable of emotional excitement, he strikingly resembled that later Italian soldier, politician, and historian, Guicciardini. 'Faith, religion, conscience, self-subordination to the public good, have no place in his list of human motives; interest, ambition, calculation, envy, are the forces which, according to his experience, move the world.'[1] His very virtues were a disadvantage for his high office. He possessed 'arts or policy,' but not dissimulation or closeness; and as Bacon points out, the 'properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several and to be distinguished.' Gregory the Twelfth vacillated and prevaricated until no man knew what he desired or intended. Benedict the Thirteenth was too often so intoxicated with the exuberance of his own verbosity that it was impossible to discover his hidden meaning or real intention behind a cloud of darkening eloquence. But the new Pope spoke his mind, told the truth, and kept his word; and although we may consider these to be good qualities, they were by no means conducive to the success of a Pope at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Silence, or at least reticence, was preferable to candour and plain speaking.

A second enemy in the Pope's way was the spirit of religious reform. To an Italian, who worshipped strength and the

[1] Symonds, i. 238.

beauty that waits on strength, the desire for social and moral reform was wellnigh unintelligible; and as regards the demand for reform of the financial economy of the papacy, for that reform for which the clergy everywhere, and the University of Paris in particular, were insistent, it must be remembered that Baldassare Cossa had received his early training in the very worst school possible, the corrupt and simoniacal court of Pope Boniface the Ninth. Beside these two enemies there was a third unknown foe looming in the near future.

On the 17th May the new Pope was elected; on the 18th, the day following, died Rupert, King of the Romans. He had come from Heidelberg to Oppenheim for the Feast of Pentecost. He was weak in health, and ordered his chancellor, Raban of Helmstadt, to make a division of the hereditary lands among his surviving sons. He was expecting war, not only with the Elector-Archbishop of Mainz, but with King Wenzel, who was preparing to reassert the rights which the Council of Pisa had recognised. The God of Battles was to decide between the rival Kings. It was according to German notions that it should be so; and Rupert had neglected his manifest duty when he abandoned the strife with his rival to hurry off to Italy. Not only was he beaten in Italy, but he produced a schism in the empire. The end of his reign threatened to be a repetition of the end of the reign of the previous Bavarian king, his great-grandfather's brother, Louis of Bavaria.[1] But the King, who was now fifty-eight years of age, grew weaker every day. As the Octave of Pentecost broke, the dying man had the Mass read to him and the extreme unction administered. When the benediction was pronounced he breathed his last. He died as he had reigned, a disappointed, unsuccessful King. He was an upright, clear-sighted, well-meaning man, a friend to learning and to scholars; his great fault was that he lacked concentration of purpose,[2] and knew not how to adapt his means to his ends.

[1] Huebner, tab. 138.

[2] King Rupert failed to appreciate the fact that 'in the victorious days of the Roman Republic it had been the aim of the senate to confine their councils and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they provoked the hostilities of a second.'—Gibbon, vi. 289.

He gave to 'unproportioned thought his act,' and hence his uniform failure. A worse king would have done better. His death brought on the negotiations for a new election; and the third great foe of Pope John the Twenty-third was the future Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Everything presaged a troubled pontificate. The future hid it in darkness and storm.

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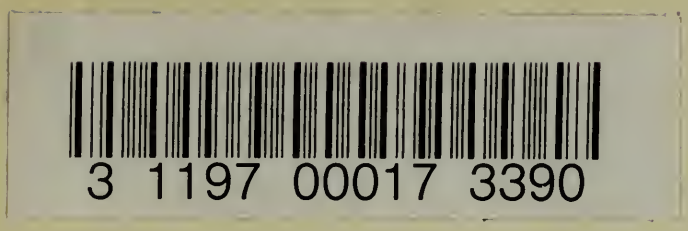
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